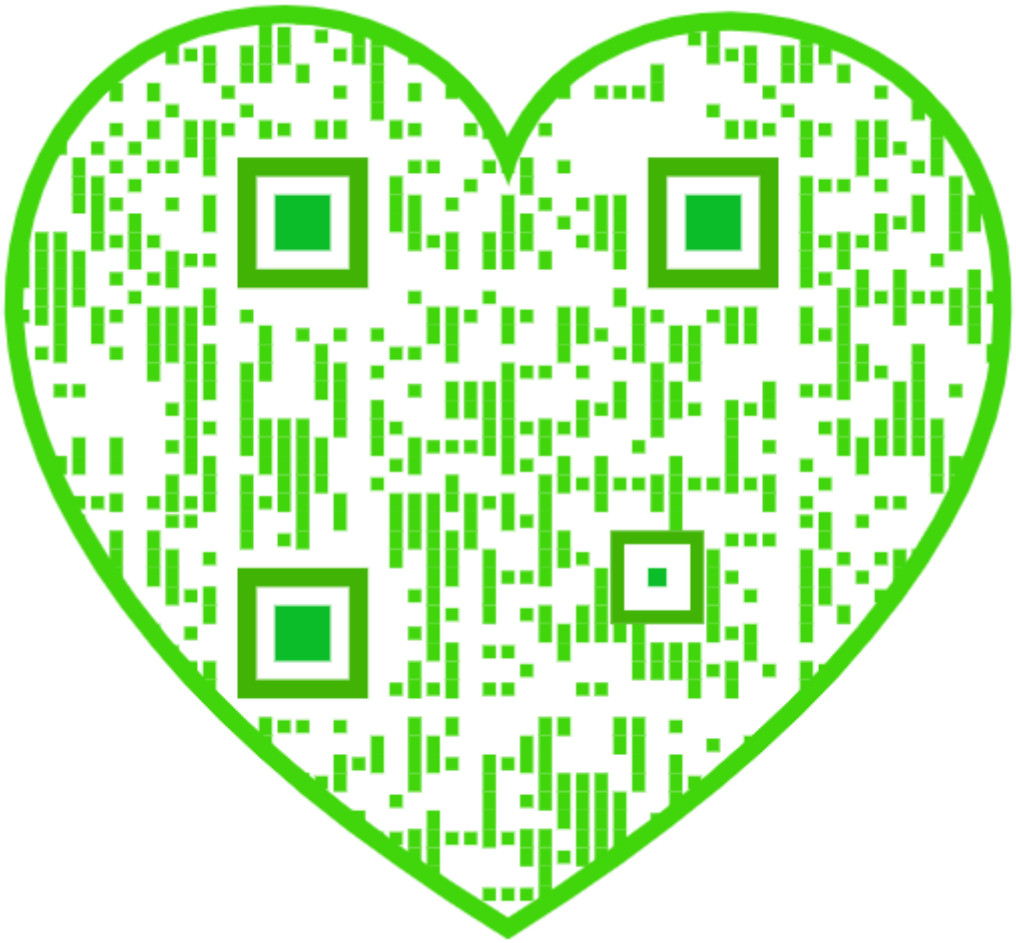

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DISCUSSIONS

IN

ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

BY

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EDITED BY

DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D.

In Two Volumes

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STATISTICS

AMERICAN INDUSTRY IN THE CENSUS

Atlantic Monthly, VOL. 24 (1869), PP. 689–701

Although the following article relates to census problems and data of thirty years ago, its suggestiveness and interest are of no less value today than then. The proper scope and method of a manufacturing census is still in dispute.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY IN THE CENSUS.

THE industry of the country—using that term as it is known to census-mongers—has special claims upon the authorities, legislative or administrative, of the approaching ninth census of the United States. Had the returns of population in 1860 aggregated but a miserable total of twenty millions, when it was certain that the true number could not be less than thirty millions, and when the best unofficial estimates set the population of the States a million and a half higher, no one would have questioned that it was full time to reform the methods of the census,—if, indeed, such a mortifying conclusion had not caused the suppression of the whole work as too bad for publication. Yet the seemingly extreme case which we have supposed, of failure in the population returns of the eighth census, falls far short of the actual misrepresentation with regard to the "Products of Industry," in the third and largest of the four quarto volumes which embody the results of the enumeration of 1860. These tables have for years been quoted and indorsed, appealed to and argued from, by editors, economists, and statesmen at home and abroad; they have been used with confidence in ascertaining the law of the national growth; economical legislation has been shaped by them; they have been made the basis of internal taxation, and have governed the distribution of banking capital among the States: yet a few simple tests are sufficient to determine that not two thirds, certainly, of the national production is represented in these pretentious tables; while it is only the incompleteness of other parts of the work which leaves room for any doubt whether so much as one half of the actual net production of the country—properly and easily cognizable by the census—receives credit in this account of the national industry.

I have not space here for a full analysis of this portion of the last census; but a few instances will be sufficient to give an impression of the manner in which it deals with the standard industries of the country. The volume on Manufactures (including, besides manufactures proper, all mechanical and mining operations) professes to give, among others, the products of four of the more common trades,—coopering, blacksmithing, carpentering, and painting. Yet a comparison of these tables with the "Occupations of the People," in the volume on Population, exhibits the startling fact that, of 43,624 coopers working at their trade, the production of only 13,750 is accounted for among the "products of industry"; of 112,357 blacksmiths enumerated, only 15,720, including one heroic woman, contribute to the reported production of their craft; of 242,958 carpenters, only 9,006; and of 51,695 painters, only 913, find a place in the tables of industry: that is, of the first-named trade only 32 per cent, of the second 14 per cent, of the third 3.7 per cent, and of the fourth 1.8 per cent. Or, to aggregate these figures: out of 450,634 artisans, of the most efficient and the best-remunerated classes, only 39,389, or less than 9 per cent, are credited with contributing anything to the production of the country. If the 411,245 artisans thus summarily put without the pale of American industry had produced as much, man for man, as their fellows who were honored with admission to the tables of production, the gross products of industry would, by the full representation of these four trades alone, have been increased $475,755,951, or a little over 25 per cent of what is actually reported; while the net production—that is, deducting the cost of raw materials consumed—would have been increased in a still higher ratio, namely, by $284,229,445 upon a total of $854,256,584, or as closely as possible to 33⅓ per cent.

It is not necessary to prove, or even to assume, that the omissions in other branches of industry were in proportion to those cited, in order to substantiate the assertion that not two thirds of the true industrial production of the country were embraced in the enumeration of 1860; nor would the admitted impracticability of including in the reported product

of any given trade the production of the entire number engaged in that trade account for more than a very small part of the gigantic discrepancy that has been shown to exist. After making all the deductions that could reasonably be claimed, there would still remain a breach—to the extent of hundreds of thousands of able workmen, and hundreds of millions of clear production—between the industries of the country properly and practically within the cognizance of the enumerator, and the same as reported in the census of 1860. It is in this vast disproportion between objects and results, that we find a sufficient reason—though a reason were to be found nowhere else—for a change of method in the enumeration of 1870.

If the wholesale omissions which have been indicated were due to faults of enumeration solely or chiefly, they would have to be accepted with the best grace possible, and we should have to be content with making allowance for their probable extent and effect, since faults of enumeration will always occur; nor is it probable that any law which Congress may enact for the organization of this service, or any endeavor, however honest and spirited, of the authorities in charge, to distribute its parts with a view to the highest efficiency, will succeed in getting the better of that wretched system of political patronage which perverts and corrupts all the offices of our government. Any scheme which depends upon unexceptionally good enumerators is destined to failure. Congressmen will continue to dictate the larger appointments, and the miserable chicane of local politics will determine the distribution of the subordinate positions.

But the grave faults which have been indicated in the census of 1860 were not due to practical defects of enumeration, but were the natural and necessary results of two capital errors incorporated in the system itself: the one was in restricting the inquiries of the census to the production of merchantable articles; the second, in embracing only those establishments which produced to the annual value of $500.

Had the latter limitation been a genuine one, honestly observed, there would have been more to say for it, although the command to despise not the day of small things applies

in nothing with more force than in the economy of industry; and there is no question with which the statesmanship of the day is more concerned than with the condition of the "trades" as distinguished from the larger manufactures. But, in fact, the restriction was one which was not nor would be honestly observed. Such a limitation served in 1860—and would always so serve—as a wholesale excuse to all minor establishments whose production might reasonably be anywhere in the neighborhood of $500, whenever the proprietor preferred, for any reason, not to be enumerated, or the assistant marshal reckoned the trouble of a visit, perhaps of a journey as well as a visit, at something higher than the fifteen cents which the law allowed him for the service.

There is even less to be said for the first limitation. A restriction of the inquiries of the census to establishments of a certain annual production—if proved to be mistaken policy—was at least founded on an intelligent principle. But there is absolutely no reason for excepting from the tale of the national production that vast and varied contribution to the capital of the country, as well as to the daily comfort and enjoyments of its people, which is made by industries whose production does not take a merchantable form. The farther a people advances in the arts of life, the greater the importance which is assumed by *services* as distinguished from *commodities*. It is little better than barbarism to treat those industries as alone worthy the consideration of the economist and the care of the statesman, which depend on commerce to distribute their products. The contribution which is made by the artisans of the country is far more valuable than that which is made by its factory hands; and the prosperity of "the trades," where every man is a complete workman, and furnishes his own capital, is not only the best indication of the general well-being, but it is the strongest security for that great body of labor which is engaged in "manufactures," commonly so-called, where operatives are subdivided and capital aggregated, until the individuality of the workman is lost and his independence gravely endangered. Once break down the artisan's power of self-support, and capital will find it easy to dominate uncontrolled over labor, dictat-

ing its seasons and methods, doling out the scantiest subsistence, and maintaining a discipline which is consistent neither with industrial nor social freedom.

And not only do the mechanical, as distinguished in popular language from the manufacturing, industries deserve a full representation at the coming census on account of the greater number of persons employed and the higher average productiveness attained, but because it is to the artisan that we owe the grandest and most substantial additions to the capital of the country. To disregard the armies of able and skilled workmen who are every year building up cities for manufacture, cities for habitation, and cities for trade in all parts of our land, bridging our rivers, connecting our navigable waters by canals, and our oceans by railways, and covering those oceans with stanchly built fleets, and to give up the census of industry to the sole work of enumerating the production of articles that can be done up in parcels, sold across the counter, and carried off in the pocket, is irrational, and subversive of the purposes of such a national inquiry.

Enough, perhaps, has been said, to justify two propositions:

That all mechanical and manufacturing industry should be enumerated, without regard to any arbitrary limit of production.

That the value of all services rendered and work done should be included, whether in the form of merchantable articles, or of jobbing and repairing.

When it is remembered how great is the body of labor, and how mighty the mass of products, which will be included or excluded, according as these propositions are accepted or rejected, we shall surely be pardoned for insisting so strenuously upon them. They are in truth fundamental; and the census of 1870 cannot be a success if these conditions are disregarded.

It might be added, but rather as a matter of administrative detail than as requiring legislative sanction, that it would be well to have these two classes of production—that is, in merchantable articles, and in direct services—distinguished, both upon the returns to the authorities of the census and upon

their publications. If it were only to set these two great classes of producers in their right relation to each other, and to establish by an irrefragable demonstration the importance of industries which have hitherto been wholly neglected, or, what is worse, partially and disparagingly represented, the results would fully justify the inquiry. But there is still another consideration. The two thousand million dollars' worth, more or less, of merchantable articles now annually produced by the mechanical and mining industries, require the intervention of the trading class. Not less than three quarters of a million of persons are to-day engaged in the exchanges of the country, not to speak of those engaged in transportation; and of these one half, at the least, must be regarded as occupied in buying and selling the products of American industry,—using that term still in its technical sense. This body of commodities, approximating the tremendous total of two thousand millions of dollars, is conveyed from the producer to the consumer by a series of exchanges which can hardly average less than three in number, and with a percentage of expenses and profits—taking all kinds of goods together—that must amount to 50 per cent upon their original cost. What a tremendous fact! What an addition it involves to the ultimate value of the products of the national industry! All these additional laborers are virtually required, to complete the product for the purposes of the consumer. The cost of their maintenance, the expenses of their business, the profits on which they grow rich, or the losses by which they are ruined, alike, and all together, have to be paid by the consumer, just as truly as the cost of the raw materials, the wages of the factory hands, or the dividends of the manufacturing corporation.

On the other hand, with that large, perhaps equally large, class of production which has been indicated, there is no such element to be reckoned in the final cost. There is no middleman here, no exchange, no transportation. Producer and consumer are face to face. The moment the job is finished, transfer of property is complete, or, even more frequently, the transfer is made with every movement of the arm: the

blow is no sooner struck than the value which it creates has passed fully and finally into the possession of him for whom it is intended.

Is it not then clear that few questions could be more important than that which determines what share of these thousand millions of the national production escapes the intervention of exchange; and upon what share commerce imposes its tremendous tax, amounting to not less than half the original cost? Is not this, indeed, a prime element in ascertaining the value of that production? Important as it is, it may be ascertained by the simple machinery of a double column for values: one for merchantable articles, the other for jobbing, repairing, and all direct services. In the majority of cases, the parties enumerated would be required, from the character of their business, to fill only one column, just as if there were only one; and in the exceptional cases, where the production is of both kinds, the distinction would be found as easy as any which the census would be likely to require.

But it is clear that if all industrial establishments, great or small, are to be enumerated, the interrogatories of the census must be brought down to the capacity and opportunities of the humblest. The schedule adopted for the eighth census had this grave fault, that it made the same demands upon the small mechanic working at his bench, with perhaps a single apprentice,—unaccustomed to writing, unfamiliar with accounts, and having neither time nor spirit to enter into elaborate calculations,— as upon a large manufacturing corporation having a corps of skilled accountants, and keeping its books by double entry. Such a want of discrimination is neither just nor reasonable. If a schedule be reduced to such simplicity as to be within the comprehension of the former, it will be puerile when applied to the major establishments of the country. On the other hand, a schedule framed to elicit all the important facts of the larger industries will prove incomprehensible to the whole body of the minor trades. And again, let a compromise be attempted between the two, and the probabilities are, as the fact has been, that the schedule will neither be made plain

and practicable for the one, nor useful and comprehensive for the other. Such was the schedule of 1860. With the idea of enumerating the cobbling-shop and the giant factory upon one blank form, more was put in than was at all suitable for the former, while so much was left out as to make the results in the case of the latter of little or no value.

Fourteen questions were inserted, only ten of which could have any significance in the case of the smaller establishments. Yet the four unnecessary questions added were of a character to cause more difficulty than all the remaining ten. They were the "kinds" and "quantities" of raw materials used, and the kinds and quantities of the resulting product. It cannot for a moment have been supposed that the answers to these questions would be required in the case of the vast majority of the smaller establishments. We have spoken of these unnecessary and vexatious questions as four; but, in fact, the inquiries were of such a nature as to require eight answers, or twelve, or some higher multiple of four, whenever the materials used, or the products resulting, were of more than one "kind." Probably, as industries average in this respect, these four questions required not less than eight answers, by far the most difficult and annoying of the whole to a small mechanic or manufacturer. Yet, astonishing as it may seem, after 140,433 establishments had been put to the trouble of answering these questions, the answers were tabulated in the case of only 7,115 of them, or five in a hundred.

Such is the inevitable result of an attempt to enumerate all the industries of the country, and establishments of every grade, upon a single schedule. And this is not an extreme, but rather a moderate, example, since the industrial schedule of 1860, from a desire to accommodate it to the capacity and comprehension of the smaller and less favored, was made painfully meagre, and indeed wholly inadequate to the enumeration of the great manufacturing interests. Had anything like a comprehensive schedule for these been taken as the common measure of all, the results would have been still more unsatisfactory. We reach, therefore, a third proposition, which I desire to emphasize as strongly as possible:

That there should be one schedule far more simple and compact than that of 1860, upon which the whole body of smaller establishments should be enumerated, to exhibit the number of persons employed, the number interested as owners or partners, the value of materials consumed, the amount paid in wages, and the value of the annual product. This is all that should be expected from establishments of this class. Just what line should be drawn, to make division between the establishments to be thus enumerated, and those of greater industrial importance and larger opportunities, is not of great consequence. Such a line could easily be found; and it matters less what it is, than that there should be a division. The most natural discrimination would be according to the number of persons employed. Establishments having less than a certain number should be expected to answer only the few simple inquiries that have been indicated.

And, on the other hand, it is the proper complement of our proposition regarding small establishments, that the great manufacturing industries should be enumerated in such a way, whether by a general schedule, or by schedules specially adapted to each branch of business, as will bring out most clearly and fully the main facts of their present condition, and afford the amplest means for statistical retrospect and comparison. The facts to be elicited should not be industrial merely, but such also as are of sanitary and social significance.

The necessity of such an enumeration is not questioned. It is admitted on all hands that the next census must do a great deal more for American industry than the last, or it had better do nothing. Whatever excuse there may have been heretofore, now at least the industrial interests of the country have become of sufficient importance to deserve enumeration upon a liberal and comprehensive scheme. Few persons will be found of such narrow views as to wish to restrict the inquiries of the next census to the bounds of the last.

But upon the details of the schedule there is no such agreement. Out of the scores of questions, of social, sanitary, technical, or economical interest, which might be asked,

it is a difficult task to select the twenty-five or thirty which would fill the most liberal schedule that, with due regard to the practical success of the census, could be allowed to manufactures. It is a matter of proportion wholly. Questions must be admitted into such a schedule which are of no importance in many branches of industry, on account of their great importance in others. Compromise must be made, at every step, with the known difficulties of enumeration. Not what we would have, but what we can get, must determine, in the last resort, the admission of every new question. Moreover, a schedule must be a whole,—containing, it may be, inquiries which would be of no great significance in a different connection, but which are the proper complement of others, and essential to the integrity of the scheme. A schedule must, therefore, be judged as a whole, and accepted or rejected accordingly.

With so much of preface, we proceed to state, one by one, the inquiries which appear most appropriate to an enumeration of industry at this time, having regard, as is due to the economical idiosyncrasies of our people, to the degree of their industrial development, and to the great open questions of the day respecting labor. Each question will be accompanied by its *raison d'être* and by so much of explanation as may seem necessary, and a *résumé* at the close will exhibit the schedule in its entirety.

First, of the purely formal questions, "Name of company, corporation, or individual," and "Location," the schedule should require the "Number of persons interested as owners or partners, not stockholders." It is surprising that the census of 1860 gives no clew to this, perhaps the most important single fact in the industry of the country. Not only is there nothing from which it can be gathered, but we are even left to conjecture whether the owners or partners of the mechanical and manufacturing establishments enumerated are or are not included in the numbers reported. Especially at the present time, when the questions of wages, of the hours of labor, and of cooperation, have risen into supreme importance, we need to know how many there are

who share in the profits of business, and how many live upon stipulated wages.

"Capital invested?" is a stereotyped inquiry of the census. It is popularly supposed to be of great value. It is in truth of the least consequence. Except in the case of corporations, it is a question which few business men can answer intelligently, and which fewer still are disposed to answer honestly. But there is such a degree of virtue attributed to the inquiry that no census could command popular confidence which neglected to ask it. Happy census, if obliged to make no greater sacrifice to ignorance and prejudice!

A census of industry at this time certainly should contain, with more or less particularity, an enumeration of the steam and water power employed in mining and manufacture,—an element of vast importance in determining the industrial capability of the country, yet in respect to which it is absolutely impossible, with our present information, to make the rudest conjecture.

It is a matter of more nicety, to distribute the questions relating to labor. No part of the general subject has greater claims than this. The prime distinctions of age and sex should of course be observed. Another point of value is, whether the labor is done in shop or out of shop. With male labor, the consideration involved is chiefly sanitary, the average duration of life varying considerably according to this condition. With women, however, it has an entirely different significance. When we say that a man works out of shop, we mean, also, that he works out of doors. But when we say that a woman works out of shop, it is understood that she works at home. This again implies, as a general rule,—taking all branches of female industry together,—that she is not wholly dependent on her labor for support; but, having a father, son, brother, or husband with whom she lives, takes this means of adding something to the family income, or of securing perhaps a little convenient pocket-money.

Now it is this competition of women having a partial subsistence secured that tells most speedily and heavily upon the wages of women. A class of competitors of this kind will do

more to bring down and keep down the price of work than the accession of five times their number strictly and solely dependent on their labor. And they do this by lowering that scale of "necessary wages," as the economists express it, which prevents the remuneration of labor from sinking below the limits of a decent support. The women of our cities, although the sex is not apt to be very severely logical on the subject of its grievances, already recognize this competition as one of the chief causes which keep the price of their labor so far below that of men. The census would, therefore, make a valuable contribution to the industrial and social knowledge of the country if it would show what proportion of the half million women employed in mechanical pursuits work in shop, and what proportion take their work home.

Of course, the hours of labor, for summer and for winter, should be shown, and the number of months each establishment has been running less than full time. Two other questions relating to labor, although not vitally important, would be exceedingly interesting and instructive, as tending to show the Ishmaelitish character of our industry; viz., the greatest number employed at any one time, and the total number of persons employed during the year. The difference between these figures and those which show the *average* number engaged (the stereotyped question of the census) would present very striking and very significant results, both in regard to the quality of our labor and the habits of our people.

That, after requiring these particulars, the schedule should call for the "amount paid in wages during the year," is not one of the disputed points. The only question might be as to the form of the inquiry. That given above is preferable to "cost of labor" (as in 1860), since the latter is ambiguous, and is commonly understood to embrace the value of the labor of owners or partners when working at their trade, which is precisely what ought not to be included. Their remuneration is to be derived from the profits of their business, and those are to be calculated from the difference between the united cost of labor, materials, and power, and the total value of the resulting product. It is of prime importance to obtain the wages of the country, pure and simple.

Next after these facts relating to labor, the schedule of industry should require the number and kinds of "special machines," such as Jacquard or coach-lace looms in the silk manufacture, braiding and circular machines in worsted-mills, "sets" of machinery in woollen-mills, spindles and looms in cotton-mills, pegging and sewing machines in boot and shoe manufactories, etc., etc. The trouble of answering these questions is merely the trouble of writing down the figure and the words, while the tabulated results would be not only of the highest value to the several trades, but of general interest as showing the extensive introduction of these auxiliaries of human power.

The "cost of fuel for power," when steam or caloric engines are used, is another matter well worthy of a single inquiry. The cost of fuel for heating, on the other hand, or for such special processes as vulcanizing india-rubber, or calendering paper, should be merged in the "cost of materials" generally—on the principle that two items, one large and the other small, should not be lumped, since in that case you know neither the one nor the other. If, for example, I say that Mr. Stewart's income and my own unitedly make the sum of $3,025,800, I convey but little idea to a stranger of the wealth of Mr. Stewart and myself respectively; whereas the former gentleman's $3,025,000 well deserves to be stated separately, and my snug little salary of three figures might as well be left to the imagination.

The "amount paid for transportation" is another point of great and growing interest. The total railroad freights of the country, of course, could and should be obtained from the railroads themselves; but it is also desirable to show how this tremendous aggregate, which employs forty thousand miles of rail, is divided among the three great branches of production,—manufacturing, mining, and commerce; and still further, how it is distributed among the various industries. This item should include the amounts paid, both for the freight of materials to the factory or mine, and for the transportation of the product to market.

We come again upon disputed ground when we add the questions, "kinds," "quantities," and "values" of materials

consumed, and of the resulting products. The strongest objection which is made to requiring these facts is derived from the circumstance that so little use was made of this information in the last census. After exacting these answers, confessedly the most difficult and perplexing of all, from more than one hundred and forty thousand establishments, the results were tabulated for only about seven thousand, leaving a hundred and thirty-three thousand proprietors, put to this trouble for nothing.

The plea is certainly a strong one, but it does not disprove the importance of obtaining quantitative statements relative to the great staple industries of the country. We have already, it will be remembered, provided for the exemption of the whole body of small manufacturers and mechanics, the information from whom could not be of much value, while it would be obtained with undue difficulty and annoyance. Seventy-five per cent of the establishments to be enumerated at the coming census (not by any means—please to observe—three quarters of the labor employed, or of the values produced) would come within this exception. The remainder ought to be enumerated by quantities; and of these, with anything like proper arrangements, the replies of four fifths ought to be in such shape as to be tabulated with a considerable fulness of detail; that is, instead of 5 per cent, as in 1860, 20 per cent of the establishments embraced in another census (involving perhaps 50 per cent of the labor and the production) ought to be tabulated with respect to the principal facts of consumption and production. The country wishes to know what it is that these establishments produce, and how much there is of it. It is a surprising fact that, with over twelve thousand boot and shoe factories in 1860, we do not learn even approximately how many pairs were made in the United States. The people should be enabled to learn the amount of coal and iron, lead and copper, gold and silver, annually mined; the cotton, woollen, worsted, silk, and linen fabrics, woven and spun, and the amount of the staple consumed in each; the quantities of bar, boiler, plate, and railroad iron produced, and of steel, cutlery, and

machinery of all kinds turned out from the fast-multiplying establishments of the country; the number of locomotives and stationary engines; the number of the principal classes of agricultural implements; the thousands of mowers and reapers, tedders and threshers, not to speak of the hundreds of thousands of sewing-machines for domestic relief; the tons of writing, printing, and wall paper, and what share of it is made from native or imported rags, what share from old paper or cotton waste, what from poplar or other woods, and what from that new product of the Iberian peninsula, the already famous "Esparto grass"; the boots and shoes made, counted by millions of pairs; the annual yield of our flouring-mills; the lumber sawn and planed; the amount of coal used by the hundreds of gas companies in our cities and larger towns, the amount of gas produced, and its cost to the consumer.

We have now gone through the list of inquiries, which, having regard to all circumstances and conditions, the intrinsic difficulties of enumeration, the present demands of economical science, and the peculiarities of the national industry, appear to us on the whole, and as a whole, most appropriate to be placed on the schedule of manufactures. Let us throw them into order, dropping, for convenience, the tabular form:

Name of corporation, company, or individual?
Location?
Number of persons interested as owners or partners (not stockholders)?
Capital invested?
Power:
    Kind?
    Number of water-wheels or of steam-engines?
    Total horse-power?
Labor employed?
Average number of males over 16 yrs. in shop?
  " " " " " out of shop?
Average number of females over 15 yrs. in shop?
  " " " " " out of shop?
Average number of children and youths?
Greatest number employed at any one time?

Total number of persons employed during year?
Hours of labor,—summer?
" " winter?
No. of months running on full time?
" " " half or three quarter time?
Amount paid in wages during the year?
Cost of fuel for power?
Special machines, number?
" " description?
Materials used, kinds?
" " quantities?
" " values?
Amount of these materials presumably of foreign production?
Amount paid for transportation?
Products, merchantable, kinds?
" " quantities?
" " values?
Value of all jobbing and repairing done during year?

Another principal feature of the enumeration of manufactures should be the use of special schedules for all those industries which, by reason of their magnitude, their novelty, or their relation to the social condition of the people, are of sufficient importance to justify a separate line of inquiry.

The objects to be attained through such schedules are, firstly, to secure a greater uniformity and completeness in the statement of the kinds and quantities of materials and of products than is possible under a general blank; and, secondly, to elicit facts which are purely special to the industry and could not be reached by any series of general interrogatories. There is hardly a branch of production in reference to which, by means of blanks specially prepared for it, some few questions cannot be introduced which add little or nothing to the labor of enumeration, but add almost incalculably to the real worth of the results obtained.

Yet, while the value of information thus obtained could not be overestimated, the more immediate and palpable advantage of the special blank is to secure such uniformity in the methods of returning "kinds," "quantities," and "special machinery," as to render tabulation not only possible but easy.

We have seen the results of employing general blanks only,

in the last census. We have seen that hardly five per cent of the establishments enumerated made their returns in form for tabulation. Something of this want of success was due undoubtedly to exceptional causes; but the great source of the mischief was in the system alone. Such has been the result in every census of industry taken upon this plan; and such, in the nature of the case, it must be. Under the general blank, each man is left to fill out the columns, "kinds," "quantities," and "values" (twice,—once for materials, and once for products), according to his own tastes or inclination. He has no idea how much particularity is desired, or how fully his neighbors and rivals will report their operations. If he really wishes to comply with the intention of the law, he is at a complete loss to decide what is the best method of classifying the kinds of his materials and products. The determination of this question, which is a matter for serious consideration by the best-informed statistician, is thus thrown by turns upon each one of many thousands of manufacturers. It is no exaggeration to say that this uncertainty alone is likely to cause more trouble and annoyance than answering any reasonable number of specific questions.

The result of it all is that some, out of conscientiousness or from a real interest in securing a complete and correct census of their industry, will make their answers even more full and explicit than is necessary; while others will put in just as little as possible, disregarding, perhaps, the plainest natural divisions between the different classes of products and materials. Each man's inclination is thus made the measure of his duty, and uniformity of practice becomes impossible. Where there is no uniformity of practice, there can be no comparison and no tabulation of results. No matter how fully and intelligently nine tenths of a trade report their operations, if the remainder, from ignorance, indolence, or indifference, fail to do the same, the benefit of the whole is lost.

For all this uncertainty, vexation, and confusion to enumerator, enumerated, and compiler, the special schedule offers a clear and easy remedy, substituting for the diverse tastes and inclinations of a thousand manufacturers a single

straight rule by which all can govern themselves, and which, by making compilation a mere work of transcription, saves far more in clerical service than the trifling additional cost of printing required.

It would be easy to show, by a few illustrations, that the special blank, besides accomplishing what the general blank so commonly fails to do, is economical both of space and time; and that the same information can be gathered by it with half the number of questions to ask and answer. But in truth, special schedules have been used to such an extent and with such a degree of success as to excuse us from discussing their practical details at length. Such forms, distributed from the office of the marshal of the district, a week or two before the enumeration, to be filled out at leisure, taken up by the assistants on their rounds, and forwarded, without any attempt at compilation, to the central bureau, would present a view of the national industry such as no enumeration on a single stereotyped form could effect, and would afford results to the economist and the statesman, of the highest and most lasting value.

There still remains one division of the census to be spoken of, which, although it is embraced in the schedule of population, and not of manufactures, pertains as much as any other to the industry of the country. It is the enumeration of the "occupations of the people." Perhaps no matter treated by the last census is more of popular interest than this. There are no technicalities about these tables; the terms are those of common life; and the least studious person is almost equally interested with the scholar, in seeing what his countrymen are about, and what proportion the various trades and professions bear to each other. It has also an additional importance in the economical point of view, inasmuch as the products of the industry of many classes must, at the best, escape direct enumeration.

Unfortunately, this portion of the work attained a bad preeminence in the census of 1860, as the worst, taken in the enumeration and the most unintelligently handled in the compilation. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any man could allow his name to be affixed to such a preposterous publica-

tion. We shall best indicate the measures necessary to reform this branch of the census, by locating, as precisely as possible, the failures of the last enumeration.

The more obvious of these mistakes fall naturally into two classes. The first is where some technical occupation, which notoriously employs a large number of persons, is put down as affording employment only to hundreds, or tens, or even less than ten, throughout the country, the explanation being simply that those engaged have been reported under some other and more general class. In such a case it would seem but natural that such special occupation should be omitted entirely, instead of being put down with numbers that are manifestly disproportionate. For example, we find the number of "rectifiers" in the United States gravely reported as two. Bobbin makers are three in number; willow workers, three; cellar diggers, four, all in Missouri; bootblacks, fourteen, all in California; cotton-brokers, two, both in North Carolina; chandelier makers, three; "smelters," two; edge-tool makers, five, all in Kentucky; instrument makers, two; sleigh makers, two; "grinders" (whatever that may signify), seventy-nine. Perhaps the following is even more grotesque: Bookkeepers, in Illinois, 554; in Massachusetts, 593; in Pennsylvania, 519; in Texas, 68; *in New York, none.*

In another class of cases, the same occupation has been reported under several different names; and the central authorities have not ventured on the great responsibility of combining and reducing them. Thus, under the head "Domestics," we have the following entries: Alabama, none; Arkansas, 797; California, none; Connecticut, none; Delaware, 1,688; Florida, 631; Georgia, none; Illinois, none; Indiana, none; Iowa, —more civilized,—358; Kansas, none; Kentucky, 1,782. These States alone report; Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, etc., being apparently destitute of such accessories —after the fact—of civilization. Turning, however, to the title of "Servants," we find the deficiencies explained, the number reported under that head reaching the very pretty total of 559,908; New York, which had not a domestic, employing, it seems, 155,288 servants. Now it need not be said

that the domestics of Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, and Iowa are the same with the servants of Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, and New York.

An even more noticeable case is that of some of the commercial interests. In addition to large bodies of grocers, coal and flour dealers, etc., we find 14,063 reported simply as "dealers," 123,378 as "merchants," 7,863 as "store-keepers," and 11,195 as "traders." The ingenuity with which this body of 156,499 gentlemen commercially disposed is made to do duty in so many different ways in the tables of occupations is certainly to be admired, if not imitated.

The errors which have been noted above, though absurd and annoying enough, are such as it would be within the power of the authorities of the census to correct. But there is a still more general fault in the enumeration of occupations heretofore, which no ingenuity could remedy. It is absolutely impossible from these tables to construct anything like a satisfactory scheme of the actual distribution of the people among the different branches of industry. There is a fantastic accuracy in the enumeration of occupations curious, rare, and outlandish; while some of the largest classes are wholly lost, or reduced to such proportions as make the statement absurd. The best test of the utter uselessness of the tables of occupations in 1860 is found in the substantial failure of Mr. Elliott's attempt to reduce the classification to something like a logical order. That gentleman, an eminent statistician in the office of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue, has done all that could be done to resolve the anomalies of these tables; but not science nor genius could contend successfully with such crude and "impossible" material. What, indeed, could be done with a classification of occupations which gave only 2,022 persons, male and female, as employed in all the branches of the woollen and worsted manufacture, and credited the industry of the United States with three bobbin makers, two sleigh makers, five edge-tool makers, and two smelters?

It is quite common to hear the inherent difficulties which attend a census of occupations dwelt upon, as if they were so great as to preclude all hope of improvement. These difficul-

ties exist, and will affect the results of the census whatever is done; but they are no greater nor more obstinate than those which beset any other portion of the work, and it is entirely practicable to reduce them within very narrow limits. The means for effecting this are easy and simple. The "enumerator's book" should contain a printed list of occupations, such as it is desirable to have enumerated. This will serve as a guide to him in his inquiries, and will yield results which are susceptible of tabulation and comparison. In almost all cases where occupations are unsatisfactorily reported, it is because neither the enumerator nor the person interrogated has any idea how particularly it is desired to report occupations, or into what classes the statistician and the economist would seek to divide them. One answers that he is a mechanic, or a factory hand, when he would just as readily and cheerfully state in what kind of mechanical labor, or in what kind of a factory,—whether woollen, cotton, or paper,—if he only knew it was desired.

Such a list of occupations, arranged according to a rational plan, and using the most familiar name for each, would insure a uniform and intelligible report with even the stupidest of enumerators. Of course, such a list could only mark the main divisions of employment. It is undoubtedly very interesting and amusing, for gentlemen of leisure, to take down the ponderous volumes of the census, and find that there were ten submarine divers in the United States in 1860, and five chiropodists (as many chiropodists as edge-tool makers, then cutting the corns of "the people"!), and twenty taxidermists stuffing squirrels and robins, and the poorer sort of game that boys shoot. But it is of a great deal more consequence that the statesman and the economist should be able to turn to the volumes of the census, and ascertain the number of those who are following each great branch of industry, and whose health, happiness, and fortune depend on its sanitary and economical conditions, and are subject to every change which law or fashion may prescribe for it.

In a word, the "curiosities" of the census must give way to its vast and far-reaching practical uses. It is of more consequence to be able to number, approximately, the host of

workers in woollen, than to know the precise number of the workers in wax, who, it would seem, in 1860 aggregated the astonishing sum of five. And if we cannot have the two things together,—as it would seem we cannot, from this same census, which reports just 2,022 in all branches of the worsted and woollen industry, while there were twenty-five times as many in the United States at that time,—why then, the erratic characters who tell fortunes, stuff birds, and remit the penalties of tight boots, must be left to shift for themselves; the "grinders" may cease, because they are few; the submarine divers come up to be enumerated, or stay under, as they please—so only we have a true account of the ten million laborers and artisans of the country.

I will close this article by suggesting two additional questions in connection with this matter of occupation, upon what is known as the population schedule of the census. In 1860, the occupation or profession alone was required,—with what result has been seen. I have proposed a plan by which this column may be made to yield results of the highest value,—proper material for legislation and scientific study, not food for laughter.

But it is also of great importance to know how many of the ten or twelve millions who are to be enumerated in that column in 1870 are working for themselves, and sharing in the profits of business, and how many are dependent upon stipulated wages. The greatest social and industrial questions of the day connect themselves with this. I propose, therefore, another column, very narrow, leaving just room enough for an "x"as a mark of affirmation (the absence of any entry being understood as a negative),—to be headed, "Receiving Wages or Salary."

It is also of capital importance to know, not merely how the ten or eleven millions herein enumerated are employed, but how the twenty-eight millions of unenumerated are supported. For this purpose, we would say, let a third column be added, to show the "number of persons dependent" on each person whose occupation is reported. A schedule of this form, filled up with a brief and comprehensive list of occupations, would exhibit, successively, the number of per-

sons engaged in each one of the main branches of industry; the number of these who are masters or employers; and lastly, and most important, in what proportion the far greater numbers of the unemployed and dependent are "picketed" upon the helpful labor of the country,—how many agriculture provides for, how many are supported by manufacturing industry, how many mouths the transportation of the country is taxed to feed, how many live upon the profits of trade, how many grow fat or grow lean upon the salaries of the clergy, or the fees of lawyer or doctor.

Such an enumeration of occupations, with these kindred facts, would be a census by itself. It would convey, in a more accurate and striking form than any other which could be devised, a synopsis of the real economical condition of the country, its industrial capacity, and even its civilization; for it is in the occupations of the people that we find their habits, their tastes, their ruling appetites, their social patterns, and their moral standards more truthfully revealed than ever in any book of travels or history.

OUR POPULATION IN 1900

Atlantic Monthly, VOL. 32 (1873), PP. 487-95

The retarding effect of immigration upon the growth of the older settled elements of the population, is also treated in the article, *Immigration and Degradation.*

OUR POPULATION IN 1900.

To forecast for the year 1900 the population of that portion of the earth's surface now, and probably at that date still to be, known as the United States of America has been a favorite exercise for our patriotic orators, and even for that austerer race who style themselves "statisticians." A few bold spirits have indeed carried these computations unflinchingly out to the middle of the twentieth century, and have gazed full at the intolerable brightness of such figures as 1950,—497,246,365. There have been Congressmen released from fear, who could contemplate without blinking a population of one hundred and fifty millions on the Atlantic Slope, and two hundred and fifty millions in the Mississippi Valley. But to all fainter souls the close of the century has afforded a natural and easy resting-place in their imaginative flights; and perched on the barrier which divides this much-bespattered hundred-years-after-Christ from the next, they have been content with the elevation gained, declining the giddy heights to which so short a continuance, as for twenty or thirty years longer in their ascending course, would conduct them. And therefore it is, and apparently for no other reason, that the popular prophecy of our national growth has stopped at 1900, where, in the gratifying contemplation of a population exceeding that of Great Britain, France, and Germany combined, we have been content to await what the future should bring forth, holding the evil and the good of the century to be sufficient thereunto.

It has not seemed, however, to occur to those of us who have thus indulged in dreams of our national greatness, that if the perfection of the line of population for sixty, eighty, or one hundred years, according to the ratio of past growth, led to a palpable and gross absurdity, suspicion might not

unreasonably arise as to the earlier course of that line; that if causes were certain to operate, at the latest, within the first few years after the beginning of the twentieth century, such causes would probably be felt in some degree, and in an important degree, prior to the close of the nineteenth century; that consequently if it was impossible that the population should rise by a steady course to be five hundred millions in 1950, it might not be as much as one hundred millions in 1900; but, on the contrary, it was in the highest degree probable that the great change which was to reduce population from its theoretical maximum as five hundred, to a reality of three hundred, two hundred, or perhaps only one hundred and twenty-five millions at the later date, would be found bringing that population sharply down from its projected altitude fifty years earlier.

As has been intimated, the sanguine view of the national future has not been confined to stump-speakers or members from Buncombe. It has been put forth officially in more than one census of the United States, with great show of authority, and with precision, not only as to the millions, tens of millions, and hundreds of millions who were destined to inhabit this happy land in 1900, but also as to the hundreds, tens, and units of the fortunate population. Not a man, woman, or child was to be lost through any failure of the statisticians to carry their calculations all the way out, even to the first decimal place. If "the rule of three" showed that there were to be 100,355,801.6 persons within the United States in 1900, the presumption has, both humanely and patriotically, been taken as in favor of the fractional citizen, and the population at that date been set down at 100,355,802.

The best known of all the definite predictions in respect to the future population of the country are those of Elkanah Watson, who, in 1815, forecast the results of the census from 1820 to 1900. Mr. Watson's estimates are certain always to be treated with a degree of consideration, from the fact that they were made so early in the history of the country that they were verified with exactness for several successive decades, before the great inevitable change set in. The

following are his figures from 1820 to 1860, in comparison with the actual results of the census.

	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Watson.....	9,625,734	12,833,645	17,116,526	23,185,368	31,753,824
The Census.....	9,633,822	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321
Watson's Error	− 8,088	− 32,375	+ 47,073	− 6,508	+ 310,503

Probably no social philosopher, skilled to discern beneath the variously agitated surface the deep, strong current of human affairs, ever obtained one tithe of the popular applause on account of a prediction fulfilled, which Mr. Watson received, as from decade to decade his estimates of the future population of the United States were thus borne out by the census. At each successive verification, newspaper editors laid down their pens to admire, and took them up again to write, Prodigious! That a man, a mere human being, should be able to predict fifty years in advance the number of inhabitants in a rapidly growing country, within a fraction of one per cent, seemed to those who knew nothing of statistical methods, but imagined, as ninety-nine out of a hundred persons did, that Mr. Watson obtained his results by direct and immediate intuition, wonderful, almost beyond belief. And yet, if one will be at pains to examine these much-admired predictions, he will find that they were founded upon no prophetic conception of the future, no philosophical analysis of existing forms and forces, nor even upon an exhaustive study of the territorial conditions of the present and future population of the country. There was not even mathematical ingenuity displayed in the computations; no transcendental processes appear to have been employed; a schoolboy's arithmetic was sufficient to have carried the scheme out to the end of the twenty-ninth century, as perfectly as Mr. Watson carried it to the end of the nineteenth. Mr. Watson himself assumed no mysterious function in the matter. His entire introduction to the estimates, so far as it concerns his method, was as follows:

"In 1810, it (the population) was 7,239,903. The increase from 1790, the first census under the Constitution, has been about one third at each census; admitting it shall continue to increase in the same ratio, the result will be as follows."

It will be seen that Mr. Watson's method was simply to assume an uninterrupted growth of population for ninety years, and thereupon to compound the population of 1810 at the rates of increase previously maintained. The whole merit or vice of these predictions was, therefore, to be found in the assumption of an uninterrupted growth. Mr. Watson simply bet nine times upon the red. Five times the red won, —a wonderful run of luck, certainly; but when we think that had nullification proceeded, as it was more likely to do than not, to secession in 1832, the estimate for 1840 would not have been realized; that had not the potato crop failed in Ireland in 1846–7, the estimate for 1850 would not have held good; that but for the acceleration of European, and especially of German, immigration between 1850 and 1854, due wholly to domestic causes, the results for 1860 would have been more than a million short of the estimate—we cannot but think that Mr. Watson had a narrow escape on the third, fourth, and fifth ventures. At the sixth, the luck changed. Of the predictions for the three remaining decades of the century, the less said the better; and as the responsibility for the estimated population of the United States, 1870–1900, is shared by others, among them two professed statisticians, speaking with the advantage of forty or fifty years of added experience, we shall, at this point, drop all exclusive reference to Mr. Watson, merely remarking that in what we have said, we have intended no disparagement to his eminent services in connection with the industrial development of the country, and no disrespect to his memory. Doubtless, while he was interested in observing the fulfilment of his predictions for three successive censuses (he died in 1842), he would have smiled at the value popularly assigned to the estimates for the latter decades of the century, knowing well that the fundamental assumption was beset by so many chances as to render the remoter results exceedingly questionable.

The late Mr. De Bow, Superintendent of the Seventh Cen-

sus, one of the most meritorious of the earlier generation of American statisticians, after computing the population of the United States successively on eight "distinct and more or less probable assumptions of future increase," pronounced the opinion that the figures 100,337,408 "more nearly express the truth than any other for 1900." (See *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, p. 130.) The assumption by which this particular result for 1900 was reached would require a population in 1950 of 330,846,389, or an excess of the population of China, according to the better estimates. Whether Mr. De Bow doubted the capacity of the American people to adapt themselves to the use of dogs, cats, and mice, as food, upon so short notice, or for some other reason, he refused the leap and, like Mr. Watson, stopped short with the nineteenth century.

Precisely what were the data taken, and what the principle of connecting them assumed, in thus forecasting the probable future population of the United States?

In 1854, when Mr. De Bow made the computations referred to, seven censuses had been taken under the Constitution, with the ascertained population following:

Year.	Population.	Positive Increase.	Increase. Per cent.
1790	3,929,214		
1800	5,294,390	1,365 176	34.74
1810	7,215,858	1,921,468	36.31
1820	9,600,783	2,384,925	33.05
1830	12,820,868	3,220,085	33.54
1840	17.619,641	4,798 773	37.43
1850	23,067,262	5,447,621	30.92

Such, with the addition of the returns of immigration made to the Department of State, appear to have been the data concerning the population of the United States as a whole which Mr. De Bow used in his computations of the probable increase to 1900. It will be observed that the period 1840–1850, the last of the decennial periods in con-

templation, had shown a marked decline in the rate of national increase, the per cent gain being but 30.92, against 37.43 for the ten years immediately preceding. A change so marked might not unnaturally have indicated to De Bow's mind a change in the conditions of population within the United States, and have led him to take a diminishing ratio of increase for the future. But the Superintendent of the Seventh Census would seem to have had his own reasons for believing that the causes which effected this falling off between 1840 and 1850 had already done their worst, and to have had no hesitation in assuming the ratio for that decade as the most probable rate for the immediate future. The event proved that, so far as the next succeeding decade was concerned, he was right in not anticipating a further decline in the rate of increase. On the contrary, the Eighth Census found a population of 31,443,321, being a positive gain of 8,376,059, a gain per cent of 36.31.

The Eighth Census brings us to another and professedly an original and independent computation of the population of the United States in 1900. Mr. Kennedy, the Superintendent, was, however, in general only an imitator, and not a successful one, of his predecessor's methods. In this particular case there is reason to allege something even worse than imitation. In the preliminary report of the Eighth Census, bearing date 1862, Mr. Kennedy presents what purports to be a computation of the future population of the country "based on the well-known and very correct assumption of a mean annual increase of three per cent." * Treating the ascertained population of 1860 according to this rule, however, we find that in not a single instance does the result correspond to Mr. Kennedy's table; and on placing the figures side by side with those of Elkanah Watson, for the first time while writing, we discover, much to our astonishment, that they are identical to the last unit for each decimal period until 1900, and at that point differ only by hundreds in a total of a hundred millions. We now set in comparison the estimates of Watson and De Bow for 1870–1900, placing op-

* Report, p. viii.

posite their estimates for 1870, the figures of the census. Here then, at the Ninth Census, we meet the first important

Year.	Watson.	De Bow.	The Census.
1870	42,328,432	42,813,726	38,558,371
1880	56,450,241	58,171,009	
1890	77,266,989	79,036,950	
1900	100,355,985	100,337,408	

deflection from the projected course of population. The ascertained aggregate of 1870 falls short of the estimated aggregate by 3,770,061, according to Mr. Watson, and by 4,255,-355, according to Mr. De Bow.

From the point of view occupied in either of these computations, there are three ways of regarding this failure of the period 1860–70 to realize the gain in population anticipated therein; and by consequence three methods of treating the estimated population of 1900. The first is to consider the rapid decline noted in the ratio of national increase as significant in respect to the remaining decades of the century, *i.e.*, as due to causes certain or likely to operate in the future, in an equal, or greater, or smaller degree; and hence not only to accept the actual loss of the one decade already concluded, but to reduce the estimated ratios for the three unexpired decades. The second method likewise treats the actual loss of the period 1860–70 as irretrievable, but considers it as due to exceptional causes, which have not only ceased wholly to operate for the present, but which are exceedingly unlikely to be again experienced within the century; and in this view discounts the computed population of 1900 by just the loss realized in the single instance. The third method would be to claim for the country a recuperative power, which will enable it to repair the loss sustained, not only by maintaining the assumed ratios in the time to come, but by a display of energy not otherwise to be expected, making good the deficiency of the decade 1860–70, and bringing the population of the United States up to a round hundred millions at the end of the century.

These three methods may be discussed in an inverse order. The third is easily dismissed, since it would be in the highest degree irrational in the face of a population in 1870 of only 38,500,000 to predict a population of 100,000,000 in 1900.

The second is the method most likely to receive the countenance of those who have been accustomed to indulge without misgiving in anticipations of an uninterrupted national growth. By what amount, then, must we reduce the final result in 1900, to meet the facts of 1870 ?

It has been shown that the ascertained population at the Ninth Census was short by 4,255,355, according to Mr. De Bow's scheme, and by 3,770,061, according to Mr. Watson's projection. For the further purposes of this discussion, we will take the mean of these two sums, calling the realized loss of the decade four millions. But this is not necessarily or probably the sum by which the population of 1900 is to be reduced to meet the unexpectedly developed loss of the period 1860–70; for it is evident that the computations of both De Bow and Watson required that the four million persons thus "turning up missing" in 1870 should have been responsible for a portion of the population of 1900. This they are now ascertained to be disenabled to effect, by reason of their own non-existence at the earlier date. What loss, then, at 1900, is represented by the loss of four millions at 1870 ?

It is clear that, without reference being had to the longevity or fecundity of individuals,—a thing wholly impossible, especially as the individuals in this case are not to be found, —the answer to the above question must depend on the answer to the prior question, Out of what class, or classes, of persons, in respect to age, was the loss sustained ? The scope of this inquiry will be most fully appreciated if we make, successively, four characteristic suppositions. Suppose, firstly, the loss to have been distributed proportionally among all the classes of the population in respect to age: the number of persons, on Mr. De Bow's computation, who, in consequence of the loss of four millions in 1870, will be returned by the United States marshals in 1900 as *non est inventus*, is easily ascertained by "the rule of three" to be 9,770,431.

Mr. Watson having pitched the intermediate population for 1870 somewhat lower than Mr. De Bow, his final term is less reduced by the falling off. Taking the mean of the two, we shall still have, in round numbers, ten millions as the loss to the population of 1900 resulting from the loss of four millions at 1870.

But suppose, secondly, that the loss were wholly out of that class of persons who are in the decline of life. In this case, the loss of such a number of persons would not only not reduce the population of the country thirty years later by a greater number than their own, but would clearly reduce the ultimate population by a number much less than their own, that is, less than four millions, inasmuch as on the one hand, comparatively few of these persons could have been expected, in any probable event, to survive at so distant a date, and, on the other hand, by the ordinance of nature, persons of this class cannot be expected to increase the population of the country by offspring; that is to say, the whole loss at 1870 would, under this supposition, have been out of a class the members of which, as a rule, could not be expected either themselves to survive in 1900, or to be represented at that date by descendants born, or born of parents born, after the present time.

Suppose, however, that the entire loss at 1870 had been out of the class under five years of age: the loss thereby caused to the population of 1900 would have been, not only directly from the loss of those who, out of this four millions, would naturally have survived thirty years later, but, secondly, from the loss of all the descendants who might fairly have been calculated on as representatives at 1900 of these four million children of 1870. These descendants, however, it should be noted, would generally be in the first degree only; that is to say, the class under five at 1870 would have become 30–35 in 1900, quite too young to have had grandchildren born to them.

But suppose, finally, that the loss at 1870 had been wholly out of the class 20–40 years of age; then the direct and contingent losses to the population of 1900 would have been very much increased, inasmuch as not only would the natural

survivorship out of these four millions have been defeated, but also the survivorship out of the children who might have been born to them after 1870, and out of the children of such children; so that three generations at 1900 would be decimated by the causes which cut down the population of 1870.

Now, it is true that no cause, or combination of causes, could importantly affect by reduction any one of these general classes in respect to age, without appreciably affecting the others. All must suffer with every one, but by no means equally. War affects population differently from pestilence; the influence of immigration or emigration on the distribution of the population by ages is very marked; while social habits, affecting the birth-rate, may cause a disturbance far exceeding that produced by any of the agencies mentioned. It is, therefore, of importance in this connection to ascertain whether the causes that have reduced the estimated population of 1870 have affected the distribution of the ascertained population by ages in such a degree as to materially change the expectation of increase between 1870 and 1900.

Reference to the "Table of Ages" for the living population at the Ninth Census shows that from each 100,000 of the population there were the folowing number of persons living within each specified period of life, at 1860 and 1870 respectively:

Period of Life.	Census of 1860.	Census of 1870.
0–10	28,665	26,789
10–20	22.524	22.892
20–30	18,211	17,696
30–40	12,789	12.651
40–50	8,314	9 125
50–60	5.043	5.821
60–70	2.827	3.277
70–80	1,109	1,349
80 and over	351	387
Unknown	167	13
All ages	100.000	100.000

Grouping these figures into three grand divisions, we have the fact that, in round numbers, there are 1,500 more persons above fifty years of age, and 1,500 fewer below the age of twenty, in each 100,000 of the population in 1870 than in 1860. On the other hand, the class twenty to fifty holds about the same proportion to the aggregate population as at the previous census. Our space will not serve for anything like an adequate discussion of the degree in which this increase of the aged and sterile class of the population, at the expense of the class under twenty years of age, should affect the growth of population in the next thirty years; we shall content ourselves with simply pointing out the direction of this tendency. It is at least evident that we must discount the estimated population of 1900 by considerably more than the 10,000,000 which has been shown would be the loss at that date proportional to the developed loss of 4,000,000 out of the aggregate of 1870. This would bring the United States, at the close of the century, distinctly below 90,000,000,—say to 89,000,000,—were all other causes to conspire equally as heretofore to the increase of population.

This last proviso brings us at once to another method of treating the failure of the period 1860–70 to maintain the rate of growth characterizing the eight preceding decades of the nation's history, which is, to regard the relative decline of the last decade as due to causes certain or likely to operate in the future in an equal, or greater, or smaller degree, and to reduce the estimated ratios for the three unexpired decades of the century correspondingly. If the computations of Watson and De Bow accurately projected the line of the national ascent, according to the rates previously maintained, there was a loss of approximately four millions in the ten years under discussion. To what cause or causes was this loss due? The natural and immediate suggestion is, of course, the War of the Rebellion; but can we, on a careful analysis of known facts, maintain the position that the proper effects, whether direct or consequential, of that struggle, bloody and protracted as it was, involved a deficiency of four millions in the otherwise population of the country? This is a question

most important in the consideration of the national future; and while it cannot be answered either way with absolute assurance, reason appears for believing that social forces and tendencies, not heretofore felt, or at least not heretofore recognized, in our national life, are beginning to affect powerfully the reproductive capabilities of our people; and that these forces and tendencies have contributed in a very large degree within the last decade to bring down the ratio of increase in the native population.*

The "Report of the Superintendent of Census," November 21, 1871 (pp. xviii., xix., vol. on *Population*), contains a computation of the effects of the Rebellion on the population: first, through the direct losses by wounds or disease, either during service in the army and navy, or within a brief term following discharge;† second, through the retardation of increase in the colored element, due to the privations, exposures, and excesses attendant on emancipation; third, through the check given to immigration by the existence of war, and the apprehension abroad of results prejudicial to the national welfare. The aggregate effect of these causes is estimated by the Superintendent as a loss to population of 1,765,000.

There remains but one effect to be ascribed to the war in such a sense that, the war ceasing and the political and social order being measurably restored, further and manifestly new or original effects in the same direction should not be anticipated; and that is the temporary reduction of the birth-rate consequent on the withdrawal of from twelve to fifteen hundred thousand men from domestic life for an average term of from three and a half to four years. "Speaking roughly," says the superintendent, "one half of these were unmarried men who, on account of their military engagements, failed to form marriage relations. The other half were married men whose families were rarely increased by birth during the continuance of the war." Do we find here explanation of all the loss in population during the decade, not accounted

* See Note 1, page 44.

† See Note 2, page 44.

for under the three heads previously mentioned ? This question we can best answer by comparing the number of persons thus withdrawn from domestic life with the total number of the class from which they were taken, and comparing the period during which they were thus withdrawn with the entire term of ten years under discussion. The natural militia of the United States, *i.e.*, the males between eighteen and forty-five, numbered in 1870, 7,570,487. Taking the middle of the war-period, 1863, the number was probably in the neighborhood of 6,600,000. Assuming therefore the largest number (1,500,000) for the average strength of the two armies, and assuming that this body of men was engaged in military service for the solid term of four years (instead of three and a half), we should still have less than one fourth the natural militia of the country withdrawn from domestic life, and that for two fifths of the decade; so that, on these extreme suppositions, the number so withdrawn, taking time into account, would stand to the number not so withdrawn as less than one to nine; while on the supposition of a smaller aggregate number and a shorter average term, we should reach the proportions of one to twelve, or even of one to thirteen. Inasmuch, then, as births aggregating in the ten years not exceeding eleven and a half millions would have maintained the population of the United States at its numbers in 1861, and have increased that population in the ratio in which it did increase from year to year till 1870; and as this aggregate of eleven and a half million births would have been separated at the latter date by not exceeding eight and a half millions of survivors, it is difficult to believe that the otherwise population of 1870 could have been diminished by this cause to the extent of more than three quarters of a million. Adding this latter number to that number previously given as expressing approximately the losses by emancipation, by the check given to immigration, and by wounds and disease among the soldiers of both armies, we have an aggregate loss to population from the effects of the war, both direct and consequential, exceeding two and a half millions. If, then, the probable population of 1870 had been properly projected by the early statisticians of the country,

there was a loss of something like a million and a half due to causes other than the Rebellion. If we shall be able to show, or, rather, if a simple appeal to the daily observations of our readers shall suffice to convince them, that these causes are likely to continue, and even to operate with increasing force in the immediate future, we shall reach almost an assurance that the population of the United States at 1900 is to be brought down from its projected height as 100,000,000, not only below 90, but even to 80, 75, or it may be 70,000,000.

And, indeed, the expectation of the larger result never was a reasonable one; nor could the estimates of Watson and De Bow at any time have been justified by a comprehensive survey of the physical and industrial conditions of the country, or by reference to the experience of any race or people known to history. Geometrical progression is rarely attained, and never long maintained, in human affairs. Whenever it is found, the most improbable supposition which could be formed respecting it is that it will continue. Gibbon has shown that the further conquest is carried, the wider and the weightier become the resistance and the hostility which the conquering power is forced to encounter. So it is with national growth, whether in wealth or in population. Not only do the limitations of nature become more and more stringent in reducing the rate of increase, but that increase does of itself create moral and social, not to speak of distinctly political, tendencies, which traverse its own course, and, if not strong enough to defeat further growth or accumulation, do at least make every successive gain more slow and painful. It was sufficiently hazardous for Mr. Watson, writing after the Third Census, to predict an uninterrupted and unretarded advance for as many as five decades; but it was far more hazardous for Mr. De Bow, writing after the Seventh Census, to predict the continuance of the previous ratio of increase for the remaining five decades of the century; more hazardous, because the long continuance of that ratio was an argument for, and not against, a change.

The change came; came later even than it had been reasonable to expect. It began when the people of the United States began to leave agricultural for manufacturing pur-

suits; to turn from the country to the town; to live in up-and-down houses, and to follow closely the fashion of foreign life. The first effects of it were covered from the common sight by a flood of immigration unprecedented in history. Even its more recent and more extensive effects have been so obscured by the smoke of war, that the public mind still fails to apprehend the full significance of the decline in the rate of the national increase, and vaguely attributes the entire loss of population to the Rebellion. But a close observer must discern causes now working within the nation, which render it little less than absurd longer to apply the former rates of growth to the computation of our population at 1880, 1890, or 1900. What rate will be substituted therefor, it would be futile to inquire. As the line of agricultural occupation draws closer to the great barren plains; as the older Western States change more and more to manufactures and to commerce; as the manufacturing and commercial communities of the East become compacted; as the whole population tends increasingly to fashion and social observance; as diet, dress, and equipage become more and more artificial; and as the detestable American vice of "boarding," making children truly "encumbrances," and uprooting the ancient and honored institutions of the family, extends from city to city and from village to village—it is not to be doubted that we shall note a steady decline in the rate of the national increase from decade to decade. But it would be merely an attempt at imposture to assume that numerical data exist for determining, within eight or ten or twelve millions, the population of the country thirty years from the date of the last census. As long as one simple force was operating expansively upon a homogeneous people, within a territory affording fertile lands beyond the ability of the existing population to occupy, so long it was no miracle to predict with accuracy the results of the census. But in the eddy and swirl of social and industrial currents through which the nation is now passing, it is wholly impossible to estimate the rate of its progress, even though we may feel sure that the good ship will steadily hold her course, and in time round the point which hopes too fond had—on the strength of a for-

tunate run made upon a smooth sea, with favoring winds and following floods—predicted would be reached by the blessed year 1900. This much, however, may with diffidence be said: that the best of probable good fortune will hardly carry the population of the country beyond seventy-five millions by the close of the century.

1. The popular notion that the relative decline in the national increase has been due to a loss of physical vigor, will not bear the test of evidence. At the time when our population was purest, when immigration was so slight as to be hardly appreciable, the American people had shown the capability of maintaining a rate of increase which should double their numbers in twenty-two years; and this, over vast regions and through long periods.

At the time the change noted took place, the general standard of health throughout the land was rising under the influence of a more generous diet, a better understanding of the laws of health, and the introduction of modern medicine. There is not the slightest statistical or physiological evidence to justify attributing the effect we are considering to such a cause. It was all the natural result of the changed social and economic conditions under which the American people had come to live.—From *The Chautauquan*, Vol. 14 (1892), p. 657.

2. The first part of the "Medical and Surgical History of the War," recently issued from the Surgeon-general's office, affords the means of determining very closely the direct losses of the Union Army. It appears that the Adjutant-general's office has the "final papers" of 303,-504 officers and soldiers of the regular, volunteer, and colored troops. If we say three hundred and four thousand, we shall probably cover all the cases not embraced in this count. This statement, however, includes only those who died in service. Two hundred and eighty-five thousand were discharged on account of disabilities of the various forms recognized by the Surgeon-general's office. It is probably fair to assume that one third of these died within two years from discharge. Tens of thousands were discharged to die; tens of thousands more lingered through the first or second year. If, in addition, we allow for the accelerated mortality among the nearly one million and a half persons, enlisted for longer or shorter periods into the service of the United States, who neither died in service nor were discharged for developed disability, but who carried out with them the seeds of disease, or retired to civil life with shattered constitutions, we shall be safe in placing the loss of the Union Armies at five hundred thousand.

For the Confederate forces very little is available in the form of positive data. Perhaps the best estimate of their total losses in service is that of Prof. Joseph Jones, of the University of Louisiana, who was, if I mistake not, a surgeon in that service, of large field and hos-

pital experience. Professor Jones fixes the number at two hundred thousand. If we allow proportionally for the deaths immediately following discharge for disability, or more slowly ensuing from the general strain of the constitution and the gradual development of disease, we should have the aggregate loss for both armies about eight hundred and fifty thousand.—From *Some Results of the Census*, in *Journal of Social Science*, No. V. (1873), p. 73.

DEFECTS OF THE CENSUS OF 1870

From *Report of Superintendent of the Census*, NOVEMBER 1, 1874, 43*d Congress*, 2*d Session*, *House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, PART 5, VOL. 6, PP. 724-29.

DEFECTS OF THE CENSUS OF 1870.

In preparing for the census of 1870, Mr. Walker endeavored to secure radical changes in the law covering the census. A bill, prepared for this purpose, passed the House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate. Mr. Walker, however, continued to press upon the attention of Congress his convictions, which were deepened by the practical experience obtained as Superintendent of the Ninth Census. Much of what he wrote upon this topic is necessarily of limited interest, but no record of Mr. Walker's contributions to statistical art would be complete without some reference to this labor. It is best told in the several reports made while superintendent of the census, and in the prefaces of various volumes of both the Ninth and Tenth Census. The following extract, taken from a letter dated New Haven, January 30, 1874, to the Centennial Committee of the House of Representatives in regard to the feasibility of a census of the United States to be taken in 1875, illustrates in a relatively brief form, the careful thought and minute attention which Mr. Walker gave to the question of census administration. This extract has also been chosen because it gives references to volumes of the census which discuss at greater length the points involved. The conclusions here expressed are again insisted upon in Mr. Walker's Report as Superintendent of the Census, January 17, 1878, and resulted finally in a change in the organic census law, providing for the census of 1880.

Points three and four in this letter, relating to the probable cost of a census in 1875, and to the census proposed to be taken under State authorities, are omitted:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., January 30, 1874.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to the request of the Committee on the Centennial Celebration of the Independence of the United States, I have the honor to submit the following statements and representations upon the points contained in your letter to the Honorable the Secretary of the Interior, respecting a census in 1875, and also certain additional questions which arose during my conference with the committee on the evening of the 20th inst.

First, "Should there be a census in 1875?"

To this I replied with deference that, unless it would

be deemed expedient to take a census in 1875 for the sake of the information to be derived therefrom for the guidance of Congress and the country, without respect to the occurrence of the Centennial, I do not think a census, merely as an incident to the general celebration of Independence, would pay for its cost. If, however, a census would be desirable for its own sake in 1875, it appears to me that the coincidence of the publication of its results with the proposed celebration would be most fortunate, both for the immediate purposes of that celebration, in illustrating and, in a sense, cataloguing, the resources of the United States, and as an historical record of the astonishing progress which has been made during a century of political, social, and industrial freedom.

In this connection it is appropriate to allude to the consideration that the census of 1870 was taken before the nation had fairly recovered from the tremendous losses of the four years of civil war, and that a census in 1875 would, therefore, not merely present the facts of five added years of ordinary growth, but, by the higher ratio of increase in population, and still more in wealth, which it would unquestionably disclose, as compared with the average of the last decennial period, it would go far to set the nation right as against the inevitable misconstruction, both on the part of our own people, and of other nations, of the relative falling off between 1860 and 1870. It is scarcely necessary for me to add, that, as a statistician, believing that the only true foundation for political, social, and industrial science is that which is laid upon the results of large and long-continued experiments, registered as frequently as possible, and with the highest attainable accuracy, I think that the cost of the census of the United States, taken once in five years, would be well repaid by the least of all the uses to which its information will be put.

Secondly, "What changes in the law are desirable, either as regards the method of taking it or the subjects of inquiry?"

With your permission, I will take up the two points of this inquiry in inverse order.

(*a*) It seems to me that the inquiries contained in the schedule of the Census Act of May 23, 1850, should be very greatly reduced for the purposes of an intermediate census; and that some of the schedules should be omitted entirely, both for the saving of expense and on account of the repeated experience (at the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870) of the unfitness of a popular system of enumeration to obtain the information sought. I would respectfully suggest to the committee that the population schedule should be the only schedule placed in the hands of the enumerators, or the assistant marshals, as they are termed in the Act of 1850, and that this schedule be reduced to something like the dimensions of the British " Householders' Schedule," to obtain only the facts of age, sex, color, occupation, and place of birth, and, as a new inquiry, the civil condition, or the relation to the head of the family, of each man, woman, and child, enumerated.

If a special collection of the statistics of agriculture were deemed desirable, it might properly be assigned to the Department of Agriculture, with such exceptional provision therefor as should be deemed requisite.

The Census Law of 1850 requires the enumeration of every shop, mill, mine, factory, foundry, and fishing vessel, great or small, within the United States, for the purpose of obtaining the aggregate products of industry. If I may refer the committee to pages 373 and 374 of the volume on *Industry and Wealth* at the Ninth Census, they will there find statements going to show the hopelessness of all attempts to enumerate the small shops and the ordinary mechanical trades of the country as a part of the statistics of manufactures. Nor, indeed, is it, in any proper view of the case, desirable. Through the population schedule the Census Office obtains a very accurate account of the occupations of the people, and by correspondence respecting the average rate of wages prevailing throughout the different sections of the country, in cities, in manufacturing towns, and in rural districts, or by using the tables relating to this subject prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, of the Treasury Department, a much closer approximation to the products of in-

dustry within each recognized occupation could be made, without any appreciable expense, than could be effected through a popular canvass of the small shops of the country, no matter how highly the agencies of the census might be organized for this purpose, or at how great an expense the canvass might be conducted. As it has been at three censuses taken under the Act of 1850, the government has spent money by tens of thousands of dollars to bring into the Census Office statistics of blacksmithing, coopering, house and sign painting, carpentering and plumbing, the ludicrous inadequacy of which is set forth on pages 373 and 374 of the volume on *Industry and Wealth*, already referred to.

The census of manufactures should, in my judgment, only embrace large establishments, what I may call the *factory industry* of the country, and the statistics of these should be collected with a minuteness and comprehensiveness never before attempted. Moreover, the collection of these statistics should be committed to special agents or deputies, of whom I will speak under the next head. As the law now stands, for the purpose of taking small shops,—in which single artisans work at their trades, and perhaps chalk their accounts on the wall,—upon the same schedule with the gigantic establishments in which hundreds of workmen are employed with books kept by double-entry, and for the purpose of enumerating both these classes by means of the regular assistant marshals, who, in the great majority of cases, cannot be assumed to have any special acquaintance with the conditions of manufacturing industry, the schedule in the law of 1850, while it requires too much of the blacksmith's, or carpenter's, or cooper's shop, requires not half as much as could be given and should be given in an enumeration of the cotton-factory, the woollen-mill, the furnace, and the mine. The additional facts to be elicited should not be industrial merely, but such also as are of social and sanitary importance. (Cf. pp. 384–386, volume on *Industry and Wealth*, Ninth Census.)

To recapitulate what has been said under this head, I would recommend that the statistics of manufactures be taken away altogether from the ordinary enumerators; that

the enumeration of manufactures be restricted to the industries which are carried on in large establishments, and which, consequently, it is possible to enumerate with completeness and accuracy, as it is not possible to do with the small shops, in which, as a rule, the common trades are carried on; that, for the industries to be retained for enumeration, the schedules be made far more complete and searching than they have ever been; and that the work thus restricted be committed to special agents or deputies, as will be hereafter indicated.

I would further recommend that the statistics of mortality be entirely omitted from enumeration at 1875, should a census then be taken. These statistics in a census of the United States under existing laws, though very incomplete, have still their values; but when it is a question of omitting one subject of inquiry or another, I know of no one which can be omitted with less of loss. The hope of the country for reliable vital statistics is in the inauguration by municipal and State authority of permanent systems of registration, conducted without intermission and rigidly enforced by penalties.

Of the subjects of inquiry embraced in the schedule known as the "Social Statistics Schedule" of 1850, I would recommend that some be dropped as not susceptible of accurate enumeration (notably Libraries—see pp. 472 and 473, volume on *Population and Social Statistics*); and that such subjects as it is deemed important to retain be assigned to special agents or deputies, as in the case of the manufacturing statistics.

(*b*) The machinery of enumeration should, in my judgment, be changed throughout. Districts should be formed having reference to the specific purpose to be accomplished, and officers appointed with reference to their qualifications therefor. As it is, under the Act of 1850, the subdivision of the country into districts (United States judicial districts) for an altogether different purpose is adopted for the census, and officers (United States marshals) appointed with reference to altogether different duties, and notoriously burdened with an excess of care and responsibility, are charged

with the most delicate and critical work, for which they have no time to make preparation, and to which they can scarcely, without neglect of duty and even direct contempt of court, give one third of the time and thought which such a work requires. I have no purpose to speak with disrespect of the United States marshals who took the census of 1870. Most of them struggled nobly with the gigantic and almost grotesque difficulties of the situation, and accomplished results which were better than the country had a right to expect. I believe there is not one of them who would not indorse the above recommendation, especially if he believed there were any danger of his being charged by law with similar duties in 1875. (In this connection, I beg to refer to pp. 24 and 25 of the "Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census for 1871," which is prefixed to the statistics of *Population*.)

I presume it is not desired that I should here attempt to discuss the local details of such a scheme of enumeration. Two points only occur to me as essential to be now noted.

First. Every large city with its suburbs, embracing the whole region to which the population of the city return, in any considerable numbers, at night, for sleep, should, so far at least as State lines will allow, be made a single division for census purposes.

Secondly. Constant reference should be had to the varying conditions of settlement and occupation in the subdivision of the country outside of large cities, as above provided for. To this end it would seem important that the department charged with the conduct of the census should have the authority to arrange this matter, subject, perhaps, to a provision of law that there shall not be less than one, nor more than —— superintendencies within each State, or, better, for each million of population at the preceding census.

The work of supervising the census within each State being thus provided for, enumerators should be appointed in sufficient number to canvass the entire field in a single day, as in the British census, throughout all cities and manufacturing and commercial communities; and within three days, throughout the rest of the country, unless ex-

ception should be made of regions in the condition of settlement of the Territories, and of certain portions of Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, Oregon, Nevada, and California.

Aside from the added value which would be given to a census by such promptness of enumeration, I believe it to be essential to the economy of the work that the position of enumerator should not be considered an office in the ordinary sense—that is, one for which other occupation is to be given up, and which is to be retained as long as possible. If the enumeration is to be begun and closed within one or three days, in ninety-nine districts out of one hundred in the United States, I believe it possible to secure persons amply qualified, who can be relied upon to give a good day's work for $5, either in the form of a *per diem*, or through fees graded to reach that amount as an average.

It can scarcely be necessary, at this stage of political science, to add that appointments to the position of enumerator should be subject to approval or disapproval by the department charged with the conduct of the census. As it is, under the Act of 1850, the Census Office is utterly powerless to secure the removal of a single assistant marshal, no matter how urgent the reasons therefor, while the officers (United States marshals) charged with the local superintendence of the enumeration, report by law, for all other purposes, to another department than that (the Interior) to which the Act of 1850 assigns the census. The result of these utterly indefensible positions is, that the control of the Census Office and the Department of the Interior over the actual conduct of the enumeration is reduced to a minimum, whereas, in respect to no work should authority and responsibility be so carefully placed together as in the census.

Upon pages 384 and 385 of the volume on *Industry and Wealth*, Ninth Census, are briefly indicated the considerations which urge the appointment of *experts* as special agents or deputies for the collection of manufacturing statistics. The same considerations would apply with equal force to the appointment of agents for the collection of such of the social

statistics as might be retained for an intermediate census. I would ask special attention to the proposition there stated (page 385), that "to reduce the subjects of inquiry given each such agent, while extending his field of inquiry over entire cities, States, and sections, affords the true means of securing at once closeness of scrutiny and comprehensiveness of survey."

In respect to the allowance of compensation, it appears to me essential also to the cheapness of the work, that, if a system of fees is to be continued, according to the general plan of the Act of 1850, a large discretion should be vested in the department charged with the conduct of the census, so that the fees to be paid in each section shall be graded to secure a practical equality of payment.

The Act of 1850 provides that the assistant marshal shall receive so much for each living inhabitant enumerated, so much for each death returned, so much for each farm, shop, etc. It then attempts, through a mileage clause, to compensate for the enormous inequalities in remuneration which would be produced by applying these rates to the varying conditions of settlement and occupation throughout a country of such vast range as the United States. The mileage clause of the Act of 1850 has, however, been proved in practice to be a failure, so far as the object of compensating for inequalities of payment is concerned, at each of the three censuses taken under that act. Moreover, the Superintendent of United States Coast Survey, Prof. Benjamin Peirce, than whom there is no higher authority, has pronounced the scheme of compensation to be theoretically false. Unless, therefore, some compensating principle shall be discovered, which shall accomplish what the mileage clause of 1850 has not accomplished, the department charged with the conduct of the census must be vested with authority to fix the rates of remuneration according to the known conditions of settlement and occupation, or else the rates must be fixed by law so high, to meet the requirements of the more sparsely settled and difficult regions, as to involve a great excess of remuneration in the regions where the great body of the population is to be found. I am so deeply impressed with the

inequalities which resulted at the census of 1870 from the working of fixed rates of remuneration, in spite of the supposed compensatory operation of the mileage clause, that I believe no possible abuse of such discretion on the part of the department would result in a greater expenditure (proportional to population) than has been incurred under the Act of 1850. (For a fuller treatment of the whole subject of compensation, I beg to refer to pp. 24 and 25 of the "Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census," prefixed to the statistics of *Population*.)

For the advantage of using what are known as "prior schedules" in enumeration, that is, schedules distributed in advance to at least the bulk of the population, I beg to refer to page 27 of the "Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census," previously mentioned. It is there suggested that the census law should not require the legal service of these papers, or attempt to fix a penalty for their not being filled up in advance by heads of families; but small family schedules should be distributed from door to door in cities and towns, and, so far as practicable, through the mails, in advance, in sparsely settled districts.

Four things may be assumed with confidence from such a limited and informal use of "prior schedules":

First. That substantially the whole population would thereby become informed of the scope of the inquiries, and therefore be better prepared to answer promptly and intelligently.

Second. That in a great majority of cases the schedules would be found duly filled and the work of the enumerator be thereby very greatly reduced.

Third. That in cases where the schedules were not filled, the service would be no worse off by reason of such distribution, except in the insignificant item of paper and printing (one third or one fourth of a cent at the outside for each family so neglecting to fill the schedule, and the item of postage paid to the government *), and would be distinctly

* So far as these schedules are intended to be sent through the mails, they should be issued *stamped* for transmission, thereby avoiding all danger of abuse.

better off by reason of the general diffusion of information regarding the subjects of inquiry.

Fourth. That the total cost of such service would be far more than compensated by either the improvement in the quality of the statistical results, or the saving in time to the enumerator.

I would add a suggestion, which has occurred to me since my Report of 1871 was written, viz., that in case the system of fees be retained, the use of prior schedules might be made optional with assistant marshals for their own advantage, the Census Office issuing them in advance upon the requisition of persons appointed, and the officers to whom they are issued being charged with the cost of all issued under requisition which should prove to be in excess by more than a certain per cent of the actual needs of the district or subdivision.

ENUMERATION OF THE POPULATION, 1870–1880

The following article is extracted from a paper entitled, *Statistics of the Colored Race in the United States*, published in *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, VOL. 2 (1890), P. 95.

ENUMERATION OF THE POPULATION, 1870–1880.

HAD Congress, in an enlightened view of the immense importance of ascertaining precisely where that great struggle left us, provided for the taking of a census in 1865, with improved modern machinery of enumeration, we should have obtained results of almost priceless value. Unfortunately, however, the attention of our politicians was fixed on matters of very much less consequence. Not only was no special enumeration resorted to in 1865, but when the time approached for taking the Ninth Census, in 1870, the Senate rejected a bill, prepared chiefly by the labors and services of General Garfield, which had passed the House of Representatives by an immense majority.

The country was thus thrown back upon the existing law regulating the enumeration, a law which had always been defective in its provisions, but which had become as inadequate to the work requiring to be done in 1870 as the old smooth-bore, muzzle-loading Queen's arm of the Revolution would be to meet the demands of modern warfare. Bad, however, as was the law, the political situation greatly aggravated its defects. The South was then in a state of intense agitation; portions of it almost in a race war; the Kuklux outrages were at their height on the one side, while the carpet-bag governments, sustained by federal force, were doing their worst to alienate all friends of law and order, of public decency and public honesty.

It was in such a situation that the census of 1870 was to be taken; and, instead of intrusting the local supervision of this important work—a work requiring in an eminent degree the confidence and the cheerful cooperation of all classes and all parties—to persons specially appointed for the purpose, chosen for their supposed fitness for the task, and so

chosen as to win popular support to the enumeration—instead of this the local supervision of the census in the Southern States was, by the defeat of General Garfield's bill, thrown back into the hands of the marshals of the United States courts: officers thoroughly identified, at every point, with the party and race struggles that had convulsed society from 1865 to 1870; officers necessarily unpopular in an intense degree, even if through no fault of their own, among the most enlightened and normally influential portions of their several communities; officers appointed for another purpose, and amenable to a different department from that to which the census is assigned; officers chosen without the slightest reference to their capability for, or their interest in, statistical work; officers, some of whom were intelligent, honest, and patriotic, some of whom, like too many federal officials at the South during the period in question, lacked one or more of these qualifications; officers, every one of whom, if he had possessed otherwise all the qualifications that could be desired for such a service, had enough, and more than enough, in the way of his regular duties, in the enforcement of the revenue and other laws of the United States, in those troubled districts, in those troublous days, to occupy every moment of his time from January to December. And, as the Census Office had no part in the selection of these prime agents, so it had no part in the selection of their subordinate agents, the so-called assistant marshals, the actual enumerators of the population. Not even a veto could be exercised at Washington.

Good, actually good, appointments were not even to be expected as a general thing. The whole battle against the Garfield bill had been fought on the question of patronage. It was for the avowed purpose of retaining this large body of more or less lucrative appointments in the hands of the dominant party that the United States marshals rallied in Washington, during the winter of 1869–70, to defeat the House measure. They wanted to use these thousands of offices as a means of strengthening their hands in their respective districts, to fight the Kuklux and the illicit distillers; to build up the Republican party and consolidate the negro

vote. And, in general, this was precisely the use to which those offices were put. Some marshals, especially in States which had a large and respectable white Republican vote, as in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Missouri, found it compatible with party interests to appoint intelligent enumerators; and in some districts the work was as well done as in any at the North or West. In other districts, where the newly enfranchised negroes constituted 40, 50, 60, 70, or even 80 per cent of the population, and where the whites, with a few insignificant and often disreputable exceptions, were banded together within the Democratic party, the power of appointment was exercised to the inexpressible injury of the census service. Negroes who could not write or read were selected for this difficult, delicate, and responsible duty. Accompanied, perhaps, by some poor white man, with such clerical accomplishments as might be expected, these officers of the law pushed their way into mansions where their intrusion was resented as an insult, or sought to traverse the bridle-paths of extensive districts—districts three or four or five times as large as could properly be assigned to single officers—to find the hundreds and thousands of log houses in which the poorer part of the population, white or black, found shelter.

No one who is familiar with the conditions of life at the South will hesitate to admit that it would be a work of the greatest difficulty for a man of more than average intelligence, with an instinct for topography and a fair knowledge of woodcraft, and accustomed to the saddle, to traverse a district containing 400 square miles, in a broken and wooded country, and not, in spite of the utmost diligence and fidelity, fail to come upon scores of cabins, hidden away in ravines, or in the depths of forests, often without so much as a bridle-path leading up to the door. It would often be no small task to find such a cabin, even if you knew it was somewhere in the neighborhood, and were specially looking for it and for it alone. The chance of missing it, when you had no information of its existence, and were only looking around for human abodes in general, would be very great indeed.

But why protract the miserable story of a most difficult,

delicate, and important work sacrificed to the maintenance of carpet-bag governments, or to the exigencies of the judicial department in its contest with the Kuklux and the illicit distillers, or to even less creditable purposes of party managers? The result was an enumeration which we now know from indisputable evidence to have been in many parts of several Southern States inadequate, partial, and inaccurate, often in a shameful degree.

* * * * *

By the Act of 1879, which was mainly based upon the Garfield bill of 1869–70, the supervision of the census was taken away from the marshals of the United States courts and vested in supervisors, appointed simply with reference to this service, and selected on account of their presumed qualifications therefor. These supervisors gave, as a rule, their entire time for from five to eight months to the organization and conduct of this work. The supervisors of 1880 were two and one half times in number the marshals of 1870, so that, with far more time at his command, each supervisor was called to overlook a much smaller field. Supervisors were appointed from either political party, with the utmost impartiality. And, as they were themselves selected without regard to partisan services, they were officially instructed that it would be considered an offence and an abuse of trust if in their own appointment of enumerators they allowed partisan motives to appear. The enumerators of 1880, who succeeded to the work of the assistant marshals of 1870, thus freed from supposed obligations to render party services, were largely taken from among school-teachers, county or town clerks, assessors, or other persons having familiarity with figures and facility in writing. All these appointments were subject to the negative of the Census Office, which fact alone was sufficient to prevent any considerable proportion of bad selections, inasmuch as the disappointed could at once enter protest at Washington; while, from the moment each enumerator began his work, until the evening he closed it, he was bound to render a daily report to the Census Office on postal cards specially prepared for the purpose.

Most important of all, however, was the better supervision of the smaller enumeration districts of 1880. By the former law, districts might embrace as many as 20,000 inhabitants, not only causing the enumeration to be protracted over a long time, but requiring the enumerator to canvass an extensive district, and, by consequence, to work much of his term in country with which he was acquainted only in a very general way, or, more probably, not at all.

By the Act of 1879, districts were not to exceed 4,000 inhabitants, and the Census Office was intrusted with the control of the formation of districts equally with the appointment of enumerators. As against the 6,400 assistant marshals of 1870, 31,500 enumerators, each within a clearly defined district, were set to work on the 1st of June, 1880. In other words, after allowing for the extension of the settled area during the preceding decade, the average size of an enumeration district in 1880 was only about one fourth that of an enumeration district of 1870; so that the agent of the government was kept at work always much nearer his home, upon ground he was familiar with, and among people many of whom he personally knew.

A score of minor points might be made in this comparison of the Act of 1879 with that of 1850, as establishing the agencies for the enumeration of the population, but the foregoing will suffice to show how it came about that, with a better state of public feeling at the South, with an increased interest in the results of the census, and with improved machinery of enumeration, from the central office out to the remotest district of the land, the count of 1880 was at once so much more sweeping and so much more searching than that of 1870.

THE ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THE ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

On the first day of the present session of Congress, the Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee on the Eleventh Census. The offering of this resolution calls attention to the near approach of another decennial enumeration, under the Constitution. It is most fortunate that the active, progressive, and enlightened statesman who framed the law of March 3, 1879, is still in Congress to apply the experience of the last census to the legislation for the next. Mr. Cox's promptitude shows that his interest in the subject has suffered no abatement.

In undertaking a discussion as to what should be done towards the performance of this most important constitutional function, it will perhaps be well to recognize the fact that the preparations for the Eleventh Census are likely to be in some degree embarrassed by the financial and other misfortunes which befell its immediate predecessor. The successive deficiency appropriations for that work, the delays in the publication of some of the later volumes, together with the newspaper attacks upon the census, which became epidemical in 1882 and 1883, have created, in the minds of most of those who have any impression at all on the subject, the belief that the Tenth Census was extravagantly expensive. Yet no opinion could be more unfounded. The fact is that, considering the new ground covered, the Tenth Census was a marvel of cheapness. Even if we leave out all consideration of the great extent and variety of statistical work then for the first time undertaken, and treat all this as having cost absolutely nothing, we shall still find that the cost of the Tenth Census, per capita of inhabitants, ex-

ceeded that of the Ninth Census by far less than the ratio in which the cost of the Ninth Census exceeded that of the Eighth.* Yet no one ever took exception to the expenditures of 1870–72, and that work was finished to public satisfaction. A continuous progressive enhancement in the per capita cost of successive censuses is to be anticipated, even though the scope of enumeration be in no degree widened, by reason of the continually expanding detail † into which the traditional classes of statistics will inevitably be drawn, under the ever-growing popular demand for local and minute information. On the other hand, if the scope

* The cost, per capita of inhabitants, of the last four censuses, exclusive of printing and engraving, was as follows:

Seventh Census, 1850	5.84 cents.
Eighth Census, 1860	6.25 "
Ninth Census, 1870	8.71 "
Tenth Census, 1880	9.68 "

The increase from 1860 to 1870 represents: (1) the advance in wages and salaries which took place during the war period, and which, in the main, has never been receded from; (2) the addition of extensive statistical inquiries beyond what had been previously undertaken; (3) the rendering of the familiar matter of enumeration into vastly greater detail, as will appear in the next note.

† Thus, in 1860, the distribution of the population, according to ages, was into the following classes: under 1, 1–5, 5–10, 10–15, 15–20, 20–30, 30–40, and so on, by decennial periods upwards; in all, 14 classes. In 1870, under the demand for more minute information regarding the number of persons of school age, of voting age, of military age, etc., the following classification was adopted: under 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5–10, 10–15, 15–18, 18, 18–20, 21, 21–25, 25–30, 30–35, and so on, by quinquennial periods upwards to eighty years, and thence upwards by ten-year periods; in all, 25 classes.

Even so, the occasions for distributing population according to ages were not considered to have been fully met; and, in compliance with numerous and pressing requests, including resolutions of conventions and public bodies, the ages of the population of 1880 were ascertained by single years, amounting to over one hundred specifications.

Again, in 1860, the occupations of the people were tabulated in the gross, solely. In 1870, the occupations reported were distributed among six different classes, according to sex and age. At a score of points, a corresponding increase took place in the amount of detail presented. Every such instance adds appreciably, often greatly, to the labor and cost of compilation.

of enumeration is to be widened, this must be paid for, and paid for handsomely.

The cost of the Ninth Census, 1870, was, in round numbers, $3,360,000, exclusive of printing and engraving. With the population of that period, the per capita cost was, therefore, 8.71 cents per head. The cost of the Tenth Census, including both enumeration and compilation, but excluding, as in the former case, printing and engraving, was $4,853,350, which, with the population of 1880, yields a cost per head of 9.68 cents, leaving the total cost of all the new work, then for the first time undertaken, as well as of the vastly increased detail into which the traditional matter of enumeration was rendered, less than one cent per head of the population. Such a comparison must remove from the mind of any candid and intelligent person the opinion that the Tenth Census was marked by extravagance. No person familiar with statistical work could spend an hour in comparing the reports of 1880 and those of 1870, and not be astonished that the vastly greater work could have been done at so slight a relative increase of expense; and, in fact, this was only accomplished by the most painful economy at all points where saving was possible, and by pushing the clerical force forward at a rate of which, it is fair to say, government offices in Washington have had little experience.

Perhaps an even more striking vindication of the economy with which the national census of 1880 was conducted is found in the cost of the last State Census of Massachusetts, in 1885. The schedules of enumeration here were not, at all points, coextensive with those of the last national census: some subjects which were treated in the former set of schedules were omitted in the latter, and *vice versa*. Taken all together, however, the scope of enumeration and compilation, in the two cases, may fairly be said to have been equivalent. Yet the cost of the Massachusetts census was 9.47 cents, exclusive of the printing of the final reports. The cost of the preliminary printing, including portfolios, schedules, instructions, etc., is not known to me; but, putting the United States Census of 1880

on the same basis,—that is, including preliminary printing, but excluding final reports,—we should have the cost, in the latter case, 10.2 cents per capita. When it is considered that Massachusetts is densely populated, with an average approaching two hundred and fifty inhabitants to the square mile, while the national enumeration ran over hundreds of thousands of square miles, having an average of from thirty down to fifteen inhabitants, and over hundreds of thousands more of square miles having an average of from fifteen down to two inhabitants, it can only be matter of wonder that the expense of the national enumeration was not carried up to a much higher point, relatively to the Massachusetts census, than we find it to have been. Yet the Massachusetts census is justly reputed for energy, efficiency, and economy, as well as for the high scientific skill which presided over its details.

So much for the cost of enumeration and compilation in the census of 1880. Perhaps the expenses of printing, engraving, and publishing have had quite as much effect in producing the impression of extravagance. Viewed in themselves, those expenses were, indeed, very great; but it is altogether unreasonable and unjust to estimate them without consideration of the established policy of our government in dealing with this matter, and without making comparison with other publications, certainly no more important or generally interesting. To take a single case: the United States paid for printing the last Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture the sum of two hundred thousand dollars. The cost of printing five such reports, dealing with but a single interest and covering but one half the period between two national censuses, would exceed all the sums paid for paper, for printing, and for engraving at the Tenth Census, including the hundreds of tons of schedules used in the enumeration; portfolios and pamphelets of instructions for thirty-one thousand five hundred enumerators; some hundreds of bulletins, from one to eight pages each, announcing results as fast as ascertained; the two volumes of the Compendium, comprising eighteen hundred octavo pages, printed in a large edition; and, finally,

the eighteen large quarto volumes, already published, of the final reports profusely illustrated with hundreds of maps and thousands of diagrams and engraved plans and sketches. Nay, we may add to the above the estimated cost of printing the four remaining quarto volumes of the final reports, and yet fall short of the cost of printing the Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture from 1880 to the present time. Such a comparison suffices to show that, according to the policy adopted by our government, with the full approval of the people, regarding the publication and distribution of public documents, the expenditures * of the census on this side were not disproportionate, although the present writer is disposed to admit that a better result would have been attained had the number of the quarto volumes been held down to eighteen, as originally proposed, or even cut down to fifteen, and the smaller number of volumes been published in proportionally larger editions.

It is pertinent to ask why, if the Tenth Census was not unduly expensive, so general an impression to that effect should have been created. The question is very easily and conclusively answered, though not without a somewhat humiliating confession. The impression referred to was caused by the successive deficiency appropriations for this service, while the necessity for such appropriations arose out of the absurdly low estimate of cost made, in 1879, by the present writer, as Superintendent of the Census. That estimate was made in entire good faith, but with an overweening desire to make the then approaching enumeration at once both the best and the cheapest of the series of national censuses. Now, the latter consideration should not have been entertained at all. The question should simply have been, How can the United States secure the most full and accurate account of

* The following appropriations were made for this purpose:

June 10, 1880	$125,000.00
March 3, 1881	125,000.00
August 7, 1882	678,624.61
Subsequently appropriated	11,996.36
Asked for by the Secretary of the Interior in his letter to the two Houses of Congress, December 5, 1887	77,495.52

its population, industry, wealth, and social condition? Whatever this might cost should have been asked from Congress, without any thought of making a saving beyond what would have been secured by a vigorous and reasonably economical administration. The people of the United States were well able to pay a fair price for the very best census they could get; and it should, in justice, be said that Congress at no time showed any disposition to pinch the service. The superintendent should have said to the Committee of Congress, in 1879: "The Ninth Census cost, for enumeration and compilation, three and a third millions of dollars. The population of the country in the interval has increased, say, about one third, raising the cost of doing the same work, on the same scale and plan, to four millions and a third. Add 10 per cent for the proposed enlargements and improvements, including better supervision and more of it, more correspondence, much work of experts and special agents on the difficult points of the enumeration, new statistical features, such, *e.g.*, as the acreage of crops, and even large new classes of statistics, such, *e.g.*, as railroads and telegraphs, and we should have the cost of enumeration and compilation four and three quarters millions. With due reference to contingencies and emergencies, let us call it five millions." Had the superintendent said this, Congress would, without a murmur, have voted the sum asked, which would have been in excess of the aggregate amount of the appropriations actually made for the service; all deficiencies would have been avoided, and the Census Office saved much embarrassment and not a little discredit. As it was, the superintendent actually undertook * to conduct a very elaborate census of fifty millions of people for less money than had been expended upon a far simpler enumeration of thirty-eight millions. Doubtless, the additional labors, the annoyance, the embarrassments, the distress, which he brought upon himself during the three years following, were

* It is not worth while to give space to a statement of the reasons which influenced my mind towards underestimating the cost of the enumeration. There were such reasons, but they are of little present interest.—F. A. W.

only a proper punishment for his ambitious folly; but he ventures to add that the whole sum which he sought to save to the government would have been a very poor compensation personally for what he had thus to undergo.

The delays in the publication of the final reports have also had an effect in impairing the prestige of the census of 1880. Those delays have, however, been very much exaggerated in popular estimation. The leading reports, those which were specially made up of purely statistical matter, were, with the single exception of that on mortality, published in 1883,—a date which, considering the greater scope of the work, compares favorably with the record of any previous census. † The volumes thus published in 1883 were the two volumes of the *Compendium* (see p. 33), and, of the final quarto reports, the following: Volume 1, *Statistics of Population;* volume 2, *Statistics of Manufactures;* volume 3, *Statistics of Agriculture;* volume 4, *Statistics of Transportation.* The foregoing volumes comprised nearly everything of a statistical character, with exception of the mortality statistics before referred to, which it had been usual to publish in a census of the United States; while they contained over and above what had ever before been published in this line far more than the sum of all the omissions. The justification of this last assertion will be apparent, at a glance, to any one familiar with statistical work who will examine these volumes. The issues of 1884 were volumes 5 and 6, comprising the results of a great statistical, agricultural, and economic investigation of the cotton culture of the United States (the bare figures of acreage and crop having been contained in volume 3); volume 7, *Valuation, Taxation, and Public Indebtedness;* volume 8, *Newspapers and Periodicals, Shipbuilding, Alaska and the Fur Seal Islands;* volume 9, *Forest Trees and Forest Wealth;* volume 10, *Petroleum, Coke, Building Stones, and the Quarrying Industry.* In the case of each one of these reports, a summary of the statistics in-

† The single large quarto volume of the Seventh Census bears date 1853. Of the four quarto volumes comprising the final reports of the Eighth Census, two bear date 1864: one, 1865; one, 1866. The three quarto volumes of the Ninth Census bear date 1872.

volved had been already published in the Compendium of 1883.

The reports which, though generally complete in manuscript, were not published by the end of 1884,* were, with the single exception of those on mortality, all of a technical and semi-statistical character, comprising matter almost wholly new to the census, and intended to form a grand monumental exhibit of the resources, the industries, and the social state of the American people on the occasion of their tenth ten-year enumeration. Had these promptly followed the more distinctly statistical reports, they would have been greeted with universal applause. As it was, the successive volumes have received most enthusiastic commendation from the press and the statisticians of Europe,—all the way from London and Edinburgh to Vienna, Buda-Pesth, and St. Petersburg. But the American mind is highly impatient of delays; and the procrastination of several of these reports has, it is to be feared, rather impaired than increased the popular estimation of the census of 1880, altogether irrespective of their intrinsic worth.

The delays alluded to were due in part to the financial embarrassments of the Census Office; in part, also, to the enormous pressure of current business upon the government printing-office, which allowed the census reports, during much of the time, to be taken up only as "knitting work,"

* These were as follows: published in 1885, volume 11, *Mortality Statistics*, Part 1; volume 13, *Statistics and Technology of the Precious Metals;* volume 14, *Mining Laws;* volume 15, *The Production of Coal, Copper, Iron, and the Other Useful Metals;* volume 16, *Water Power Employed in Manufacturing*, Part 1. Published in 1886, volume 12, *Mortality Statistics*, Part 2; volume 18, *Social Statistics of Cities*, Part 1; volume 20, *Wages, Trades-Unions, and Strikes.* The four volumes remaining unpublished in 1887, for which an appropriation has been asked (as hereinbefore recited), are as follows: volume 17, *Water Power*, Part 2; volume 19, *Social Statistics of Cities*, Part 2; volume 21, *Statistics of the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes;* volume 22, *Reports on Machinery Used in Manufactures.* The Secretary of the Interior stated, in his letter to the Houses of Congress, that ninety-nine hundredths of these reports are already stereotyped, and only await an appropriation for printing and binding. The outright failures of the census of 1880 were in respect to churches and private schools.

when matters of greater urgency would permit; but, chiefly, to the increasing and finally complete disability and ultimate death of Col. Charles W. Seaton, who in November, 1881, succeeded the superintendent who had organized and thus far conducted the census. As an analyst and critic of statistical matter, Colonel Seaton had no superior; but his pondering and reflective turn of mind probably interfered somewhat from the first with the progress of a work which peculiarly requires peremptory and energetic treatment, while, within two years from his accession to office, the enormous pressure of care and work incident to the service, aggravated by unkind criticisms and malevolent attacks from many quarters, developed the seeds of disease which had been planted during the war, and he began palpably to lose ground. Still, he struggled on, impatiently rejecting every suggestion for his relief, passionately exclaiming that he only desired to finish the work and die. But even this was not permitted. Softening of the brain ensued; and, after a painful period, this faithful, high-minded, and able public servant passed away, leaving his work still incomplete. Such a misfortune might befall any office, and it is to be hoped that those who have made the delays in the publication of the census reports thus occasioned the subject of small jokes will some day be properly ashamed of themselves.

So much space has been given to facts relating to the Tenth Census, both because it seems but right that a record should be made of them in our economic literature, and because they are fairly precedent to a discussion of what is best to be done for the future. Even if the scope of the census law is to remain undiminished, probably no one—certainly not the present writer—would recommend that a similar latitude be given to the publication of any census soon succeeding. In its nature, much of the work done from 1880 to 1883 is definitive, or else such as to require only slight additions or corrections from time to time. The magnificent report of Prof. Charles S. Sargent on the *Forest Trees and Forest Wealth of the United States*—a work without a superior, if, indeed, it finds anywhere its peer, among the government publications of any country—is of the

former character. The two volumes on *Water Power Employed in Manufactures* and the two volumes on the *Cotton Culture* are of the latter character. Much of the work in them has been done once for all; while, though the industrial and economic statements will require to be changed from census to census, a suitable and ample background will have been furnished for them in the geographical and hydrographic studies of Professors Swain and Porter and their colleagues, or in the geographical, agronomic, and chemical investigations of Prof. Eugene Hilgard and his corps of assistants, embracing the highest skilled and scientific talent of the Southern States. In a greater or less degree, the same is true of many others of these reports, notably those on *Tobacco Culture*, on the *Grazing Interests of the Frontier States*, on *Building Stones*, on *Petroleum*, and on the *Social Statistics of Cities*, etc. The Tenth Census was more than an enumeration of population, wealth, and industry. It was a survey of the conditions of life, industry, and production, such as cannot fail to be of great value to a rapidly growing nation, such as was peculiarly appropriate to the tenth decennial census under the Constitution,—a survey which, though lacking something of completeness, by reason of insuperable obstacles in some cases, and by reason in other cases of the loss of some of its chief officers,* is yet a work worthy of the nation and of the age. The well-known names of the hundreds of men of science, economists, and statisticians who contributed to the giant undertaking afford a sufficient guarantee of the thoroughness, the conscientiousness, and the ample scientific knowledge with which their several tasks were performed; while a wealth of graphic illustration brings the results within the comprehension of the least skilled and the least learned.

But while, for the reasons above stated, it is not to be

* Especially the resignation of Mr. Clarence King, as Director of the Geological Survey, prior to the conclusion of the investigations into the Mining Industries, and the lamented death of Dr. George W. Hawes, who had projected and partially carried out an investigation into the Building Stones of the United States, which, had it been completed according to his plan, would have remained a lasting monument to him and to the Tenth Census.

expected that immediately succeeding censuses will be of such colossal magnitude, it is yet, in the judgment of the present writer, not desirable that the presentation of results should ever again revert to the traditional form of bare statistical tables, accompanied only by brief notes and explanatory remarks. In order that they may be of the widest popular and highest scientific value, the results of every enumeration should be fully and freely discussed and profusely illustrated; the various classes of facts should be carefully correlated; and all should be shown on the background of the geographical, geological, and meteorological conditions within which they exist, and in their historical connections. Our previous experience has distinctly and unmistakably shown that, if this is not done by the Census Office, it will not be done at all. The statistical skill and experience which are requisite for the work are possessed by very few, while the clerical labor involved is far beyond the means of individuals. In this view, a future census of the United States should be a mean between the census of 1870 and that of 1880. Eight or ten volumes, less than the yearly issues of an ordinary daily newspaper, are not too much to properly set forth and array the facts concerning a nation of sixty or eighty millions, of such vast and varied industrial and social interests and concerns, once in ten years.

We have heretofore made the proviso, "If the scope of the census law is to remain undiminished." Is it desirable that such should be the case? This is the most important question touching the future census of the United States. There has never been any reason but one why the vast amount of statistical work, which was charged upon the census by the Act of 1850, should be conducted by that agency. That single reason was found in the social rawness of our people, leaving them unappreciative, to a great degree, of the importance of statistics, and in the political scruples entertained by many regarding the authority of the United States government to obtain information for information's sake. Doubtless, it is true that, when the Act of 1850 was passed, it would have been impossible to secure

legislation for obtaining the statistics of agriculture and of manufactures and the various classes of social and vital statistics embraced in the schedules of that law, except under cover of the express constitutional provision for a decennial enumeration. It has been for this reason, and not because the census has been considered the most appropriate agency for the collection of many of these classes of statistics, that one after another, and one score after another, of inquiries have been piled upon this overweighted public servant.

So long as the indicated reason existed, the action taken by the promoters of the successive census laws was wise and patriotic; for it was indefinitely better that the information sought should be obtained in this way than not at all. But have we not become civilized enough by this time, are we not sufficiently a nation now, to be able to get the statistics we require—the statistics so eagerly sought for by men of all classes, sections, conditions, and vocations in life —in simply the best way in which we can get them, without resort to a political subterfuge, and without using inappropriate and largely ineffective agencies? Upon the answer to this question turns the future of the census. Personally, a strict constructionist, I do not believe the Constitution has been outgrown; but I do believe that the American people have outgrown the little, paltry, bigoted construction of the Constitution which, in 1850, questioned in Congress the right of the people of the United States to learn whatever they might please to know regarding their own numbers, condition, and resources. It has become simply absurd to hold any longer that a government which has a right to tax any and all the products of agriculture and manufactures, to supervise the making and selling of butterine, to regulate the agencies of transportation, to grant public moneys to schools and colleges, to conduct agricultural experiments and distribute seeds and plant-cuttings all over the United States, to institute scientific surveys by land and deep soundings at sea, has not full authority to pursue any branch of statistical information which may conduce to wise legislation, intelligent administration, or equitable taxation, or in any other way promote the general welfare.

There are two objections to loading down the census with a large and miscellaneous body of statistical inquiries. The first is that the primary object of the enumeration, the count of the people, is in some degree, perhaps not greatly, sacrificed thereby. The attention of the community, as well as of the officials engaged, is diverted at times and in places from the all-important end of securing a just and accurate return of every man, woman, and child upon the population or family schedule, with all the required particulars of age, sex, nativity, occupation, etc. In the case of the community at large, this diversion of attention is not of very serious consequence, although an active popular interest in the enumeration is a great help to the Census Office and its agents. In the case of the actual enumerators, however, the multiplication of duties, if carried very far, becomes a real source of injury. A census agent who is carrying about a portfolio full of blanks, and has been charged with a whole pamphlet of instructions, relating to all sorts of subjects, cannot be expected to be as active, alert, and attentive in collecting the statistics of inhabitants as if he were charged with this duty only. With the thoughts concentrated upon the narrower field, with the mind constantly revolving the liabilities to loss and error within that field, it goes almost without saying that the work would, in some measure, be better done. It is not intended, however, to lay much stress on this consideration. Certainly, the disadvantage arising from this source is vastly more than compensated by the value of the additional statistics obtained under existing laws, if, indeed, the latter can only be secured by this method.

A more weighty objection to the present system is found in the inability of the Census Office, no matter how completely organized and ably administered, to deal, at once adequately and seasonably, with the vast heterogeneous mass of returns which are thus poured in upon it. Either the work of examination and revision must be hurried and perfunctory, or else compilation and publication must be protracted over a very long period. Probably no one who has not actually visited a Census Office in the height of its work can

form a conception of the extent and variety of the materials which have there to be dealt with; while only one who has worked for years over such materials can realize the importance of giving to each successive portion a close and minute scrutiny. The schedules of population, merely, returned to the Census Office in 1890, will, when bound, exceed in bulk fifteen hundred merchants' ledgers of the largest size. The schedules of agriculture will fill three or four hundred volumes more. If we add the returns relating to manufactures, to wealth, debt, and taxation, to schools, libraries, and churches, and to deaths, it will be seen that the bare transcript of the facts with which the Census Office has to deal constitutes an immense library. Every part of this mass ought to be carefully searched by the eye of a master for duplications or omissions, for errors of conception or errors of transcription, or for the results of downright fraud. Beyond this, to prescribe the forms of tabulation and compilation appropriate to each class of statistics, to superintend the progress of the work in every part, to answer the thousands of questions coming up from the army of clerks engaged, and at the same time to direct the financial and other necessary business of such an office, is a task of monstrous labor and anxiety. Something, much, must necessarily be sacrificed of completeness and of accuracy, in order that so large a whole may be carried through within reasonable limits of time.

What is eminently to be desired in the interests of our statistical service is that the census should be confined to an enumeration of population, coupled only with one other class of statistics, to be hereafter mentioned, such an enumeration to be conducted once in ten years, as now, or, better, once in five years, as befits so great and rapidly growing a people; * while the remaining statistical inquiries now connected with the census, and even many others required to meet the increasing demand for exact knowledge, should be set on foot and conducted in proper succession, by the same

* A nation which gains twelve or fifteen millions in ten years can afford to take a census once in five years, or, rather, it cannot afford not to do so.

bureau of the government, during the intervals of the decennial or quinquennial censuses. Such a system would dispense with the necessity for suddenly raising and suddenly disbanding a large office; would retain permanently in service a considerable force of trained clerks, enabling them to acquire skill, insight, and rapidity of working by continuous experience; and would thus at once diminish the cost and increase the value of the results obtained. Meanwhile, the work of inspection and revision by the head of the office and his most expert assistants would become vastly more effective, owing to the limited number of subjects presented at a time, and also owing to the diminished interruptions from the administrative side of the office and from persons seeking employment. The office, as a whole, taking up one or two or three classes of statistics at a time, could master the conditions of each, devise the most effectual methods of compilation and tabulation, and concentrate attention and effort to the highest effect.

The class of statistics which, so far as we can see, must needs be collected at the same time with the statistics of population is that relating to agriculture. Unless Congress decides that considerations of expense should have no weight in this matter, it would be inexcusable to require the entire surface of the United States to be gone over a second time, on foot or on horseback, for the purpose of collecting the productions of five millions of farms. The cost of obtaining the statistics of population and of agriculture conjointly would probably be not one third greater than the cost of collecting the former class of statistics separately; while the impairment of the results, through the division of the enumerator's attention, would not be serious, if only these two schedules were placed in his hands. The value of a farm-to-farm enumeration of agricultural products, livestock, etc., can scarcely be overestimated. Our people are in a high degree intelligent and communicative. They recognize with remarkable readiness the interest and the right of the government to collect statistics, and they are almost wholly free from apprehensions regarding the use to be

made of the information by them given.* Conditions like these distinguish our people widely from the population of any other considerable country in the world, in respect to their fitness for such an enumeration. What an American does not know about his own farm, or, for that matter, his neighbor's too, is not worth knowing; and all he knows he is perfectly willing to tell. It follows from this that the statistics of agriculture, in the American census since 1850, have been of a very high order. Where a crop is cultivated only now and then, and that on a small scale, it is not unlikely to be overlooked in a certain proportion of cases; but, in regard to the main crops of each district, the statements are, in general, very near the truth. The effect of the tabulation and compilation of several millions of farms in a census of the United States is to give a remarkably just account of our agriculture, as a whole, and of the resources and productions of each section, State, and county by turns. The statistics of agriculture obtained every tenth year by the census are used as a basis for the computations of the Department of Agriculture, with reference to the intermediate years. These computations, made by trained statisticians after correspondence with some thousands of local reporters, are usually very satisfactory during the earlier years of the decade. As the reference to the census becomes more laborious and less confident through the lapse of time, the estimates of the Agricultural Department become liable to a wider range of error. Could a canvass of the agricultural interest be made in connection with the enumeration of population, once in five years, the people of the United States would be better informed regarding that interest than the people of any other country in the world.

The chief statistical branch which, under such a change of scheme as is suggested, would be detached from the census is that which relates to manufactures. Theoretically, the manufacturing schedule has always embraced the products

* I cannot remember ever to have observed any effects, in the statistics of agriculture, of a fear that the facts disclosed might be used for taxation. Possibly, the statements regarding the value of farms may, in some degree, have been affected by such a consideration.

of artisans working singly at their trades, and of the small carpenter's, blacksmith's, and wheelwright's shop, whether found at the cross-roads or in a shed attached to house or barn. As a matter of fact, the canvass of manufactures has at no time reached more than a small proportion of the productions of this class; and the tables of manufactures would be more symmetrical and less likely to create a false impression if these small "neighborhood industries" were in no case included as having been obtained by direct returns, but, on the contrary, were all to be estimated as a whole on the basis of the reported "occupations of the people," upon the population schedule, after careful inquiry as to the rates of wages prevailing in these hand-trades in the several sections.

Thus to withdraw from the shop-to-shop canvass of manufactures the small neighborhood industries, would be to take away all the reason which ever has existed for connecting with the census this class of statistics. The facts relating to the productions of the large city, of the considerable town, or of the village clustered around the single mill or factory, could in all respects be as well, and in some respects be better, obtained aside from the general enumeration of the people; while the central office at Washington could both prepare more intelligently for the canvass, and more deliberately and critically discuss and compile the returns, if this work were to be undertaken after the tremendous pressure of the quinquennial or decennial census were altogether or mainly passed. Whether the effort should be made to obtain the statistics of all branches of manufactures as of the same date, or each great branch should be taken up by itself and treated as it best could under its own conditions and with reference to its own times and seasons, is a question requiring careful consideration,—a question to which, perhaps, answer could best be given through the results of trial. Whichever way that question were decided, the present writer entertains no doubt that the knowledge to be gained regarding these great and growing interests, through investigations set on foot, during the intervals of the general census, by a statistician of the intelligence, energy, and pru-

dence of the present head of the national Bureau of the Statistics of Labor,* would be far larger and far more accurate than all which it can be hoped to attain through a hurried enumeration, conducted in connection with the count of population.

The only reason that could be adduced for taking the statistics of manufactures coincidently with those of population would be found in the supposed advantage of comparing the statistics of product directly with the numbers of the people, whether in the country, as a whole, or within each section, State, or city; but the loss of the advantages of such comparison would be more than compensated by a slight degree of improvement in the manufacturing statistics themselves. Moreover, it would generally be practicable, within five years after an exact enumeration, to compute the population of the country, at any given time, to within 1 per cent; always practicable to make that computation to within 2 per cent. Now, if comparison were, for any purpose, to be made between population and manufacturing product, a difference of 1 or 2 per cent in the former element would be of no consequence. No one would presume to reach any theoretical conclusion, or to propose any practical measures, regarding industry or trade or taxation or the tariff, upon a distinction so fine. Indeed, a statistician would scarcely maintain that the statistics of manufactures themselves could, as a whole, be made accurate within 5 per cent, although in single departments of industry where production is highly concentrated, a greater degree of exactness may be attained.

Of the numerous subjects to which the central statistical office might apply itself in the intervals of the national census—namely, wealth, taxation, and local public indebtedness; telegraphs, railroads, and internal commerce; the lumbering, quarrying, and mining interests; the fisheries, newspapers, and periodicals; schools, libraries, and churches; hospitals, asylums, workhouses, reformatories, and other institutions for the afflicted, defective, dependent, and delin-

* Hon. Carroll D. Wright.

quent classes,—of these and other subjects, both old and new, of statistical investigation, it is not necessary to speak here at any length. If the Census Office, emerging from the storm of schedules falling upon it by the million, relating to population and agriculture, were given both authority and means to undertake investigations like these, there would be little difficulty in determining the order of succession or the relative importance to be assigned to each ; and though to digest the schedules of interrogatories relating to any one of these subjects, and to prepare the scheme for its canvass, would be a work requiring much discretion and great labor, the results, in competent hands, would be certain to exceed in value those which it is possible to obtain under the existing system. Nor need the expense of a service thus protracted through the intervals of the national census be greater than the cost of the less ample and adequate statistics now obtained. There is great loss, both of economy and of efficiency, in suddenly gathering together an army of statistical clerks, and as suddenly disbanding them when they have acquired a large measure of skill and technical knowledge.

There is one class of statistics now taken in the census to which in these later pages no reference has been made ; namely, those relating to deaths and the causes of death. By the Census Law of 1850, a mortality schedule was placed in the hands of the assistant marshals ; and it was sought to recover the facts of death for the twelve months preceding the enumeration. That effort has been continued through each successive enumeration to the present time ; but the results have never been satisfactory, and the changes palpably taking place in our domestic life are continually rendering it more and more difficult to compass the object sought. It requires a very considerable effort to bring the number of deaths reported up to 70 per cent of those actually occurring during the year. Nor do the omissions take place with such uniformity as to allow the results to represent, even approximately, the relative mortality of the different sections. In some stages of settlement and under some conditions of domestic life,—*e.g.*, in the older agricul-

tural communities,—comparatively few deaths escape notice. In other communities, especially along the frontier or among mining, lumbering, and grazing populations, the rate of omission far exceeds the average. Under these circumstances, the only value which the mortality returns of the census have ever possessed was through affording some rude means for computing the viability of the two sexes and their respective liability to certain forms of disease; of doing the same thing, but even more incompletely, regarding the several main elements of population, as white or colored, native or foreign; of outlining, though very imperfectly, the disease characteristics of the several sections of the country; and, lastly, of affording to the medical profession some technical information, very doubtful in its nature, if taken without discrimination, yet capable of yielding, under a severely critical treatment, matter not without interest and instruction. The mortality returns of the census have never been sufficiently complete to allow an approximate life-table of the United States to be constructed, or to permit comparisons as to their respective death-rates between States and sections. The present writer would hesitate to say that it is not worth while to continue to collect mortality statistics in the census, provided nothing is to be substituted therefor. Ten years ago, he would not have scrupled to say this; but the masterly treatment of the returns of deaths at the Tenth Census, by Dr. John S. Billings, of the regular army, with the public-spirited cooperation of nearly thirty thousand physicians throughout the country, has established the possibility of securing results of high value from data so fragmentary, incomplete, and often inaccurate as those which this canvass brings into the Census Office. Yet there seems little reason to doubt that by more appropriate agencies, created for this special purpose, statistics much more worthy of the country, much more useful to the medical profession and to the life-insurance interest, could be obtained, although nothing short of universal, compulsory registration of all deaths, under severe penalties for non-compliance, will put the United States on the level of any other highly civilized nation in respect to information regarding the condi-

tions of human life. After all is said, I think it must be conceded that the one class of statistics, among the many put upon the census since its first institution, which least fully justifies itself, is that now under consideration.

Administratively speaking, the changes above proposed in the statistical service of the United States would be exceedingly simple. The Census Office has expired by limitation of law. Instead of reviving it in 1888 or 1889, let the taking of the Eleventh Census be charged upon the existing Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, in the Department of the Interior, —the department which, since and including 1850, has had supervision of this work. If possible, let the census period be reduced to five years;* but this is not of the essence of the proposed change. Let the law designate the inquiries which shall be made as of date June 1, 1890. These will of course embrace those found traditionally on the population schedule, namely, age, sex, color, place of birth, occupation, parent-nativity, illiteracy, etc.; probably, also, those relating to agriculture; possibly, also, some other minor subjects, if good reason shall be shown to exist therefor. Let the character and scope of the statistical investigations to be set on foot † in the intervals between the successive enumerations of the people be duly indicated; but let the dates at which these shall be severally undertaken be left, at least

* The provision of the census law of March 3, 1879, intended to encourage and assist the several States to take censuses for themselves, at a date intermediate between the United States enumerations, proved a failure.

† As the one upon whose recommendation, largely, the provision for the appointment of special agents and experts was incorporated in the Census Law of 1879, and as the one who had the initiative in regard to the appointments actually made under that authority at the Tenth Census, I desire frankly to say that, while many noble results were obtained in this way between 1880 and 1883, which otherwise could not have been obtained at all, or only with greatly diminished value, this feature of the existing law should undergo careful revision in a highly conservative spirit. The Census Office should still, in my judgment, be authorized to employ special agents; but the number of such officers and the term of their appointment should be limited. I think that this agency would be equally well used, with less liability to abuse, within more definite restrictions.—F. A W.

within considerable limits of time, to the officers charged with the service. Let the aggregate amount which shall be expended upon all the work of the census during the decennial or quinquennial period be, after full consideration and free conference, fixed in the law; but let the application of this amount to the several branches of the service be left to the department or bureau concerned. By this arrangement, the Census Office will have means enough, beyond all question or apprehension, for carrying out the main canvass, —that relating to population and agriculture,—and at the same time will be under strong incentives to enforce all reasonable economies, since, the more is saved from that canvass, the more will be left for carrying out the statistical work of the remaining years. In this way, with a liberal appropriation in the first instance, all danger of deficiencies will be avoided. The Census Office, setting on foot the several inquiries one after another, can cut its coat according to its cloth; whereas, if all the multitudinous investigations are to be begun at once, it will be beyond any man's wisdom to provide that they shall all come out complete within a predetermined amount, unless, indeed, that amount be fixed very high.

Nor do I see that any political perplexity or difficulty would be encountered in the proposed change. To charge the work of the census upon an existing bureau of the Department of the Interior, instead of creating a new bureau or reviving an old one, certainly raises no constitutional or political question. To assign different dates to the several minor matters of enumeration is fully within the competence of Congress, if that body has the authority to direct the collection of any statistics other than those of population; and, in this connection, it is well enough to call attention to the fact that the attempt to obtain the facts relating to manufactures goes back to 1810, when Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin were the great lights of the dominant party, was repeated in 1820, under Monroe, and again in 1840, under Van Buren.

That the present important work of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor would not suffer injury by the imposition of even

so large a body of new duties will, I think, appear when one considers how closely and intimately the two services are related; how directly the experience acquired in either would prepare its officers for taking up the other; how immediately the material gathered in one branch of investigation—*e.g.*, the facts, the names, the addresses—would be found useful in facilitating the arrangements for and the conduct of the other. This is not a case where to widen is to weaken, where to increase the scope of a service is to diminish its efficiency. Given only adequate means and high executive ability, both classes of work, each for itself, should be better done by reason of the conjunction.

Of course, if political or practical reasons are found to forbid the changes in organization or method herein recommended, nothing remains to be done but to modify the Act of 1879, so far as experience may have shown this to be necessary, and to apply it, with a view to the best results, in the approaching enumeration. That law effected a vast, an unspeakable improvement upon preceding census legislation. For the first time, it gave the central office at Washington adequate authority over the arrangements for taking the census, and over the enumeration while in progress. For the first time, it provided the proper local control and inspection of the delicate and difficult work of enumeration, through the appointment of one hundred and fifty district supervisors, chosen with reference to this duty, charged with this alone, and directly responsible to the central office, in place of the marshals of the United States courts,—officers who had been previously chosen with reference to altogether different duties, who were already overburdened with cares and responsibilities of the most urgent character and of a widely diverse nature, and who, strangely enough, belonged to a different department of the government from that to which the census was, by the Act of 1850, committed. In place of the large and unwieldy enumeration districts, previously existing, with the greater portion of which the enumerators were, by the necessity of the case, unfamiliar, the Act of 1879 limited the districts to a size which practically secured the result that each enumerator

should be acquainted, in advance, with the ground he was to traverse,—its highways and byways, its most secluded valleys, and its remotest clearings; should be known to the inhabitants and known by them, an element of the greatest importance in securing official responsibility.

The long forward step taken in the Act of 1879 can never be retraced, nor does the present writer believe that the loose talk heard in many quarters about carrying the census back to its original Constitutional function, expresses the real purpose of any considerable number of intelligent citizens. What the country wants is more information, not less.

There never was a time when the demand for statistics was everywhere so great as at present. Even the troublesome and pestilent criticisms and attacks, which every feature of our official report now undergoes, represent chiefly the widening and deepening of the public interest in the results of the enumeration, although the zeal so displayed is not always according to knowledge, nor is the spirit manifested always that of charity or candor. If the number of persons competent to criticise intelligently at least some one considerable portion of the census be ten times as great as it was, say, twenty-five years ago,—and I have no doubt that this is the case,—the number of those who, while not experts in statistics, are yet capable of making intelligent use of some integral part of what the census may declare, is at least twenty times as great. Moreover, at the present time, instead of the great majority of citizens, even among the reading and thinking classes, neither knowing nor caring to know what the census has to tell, we find nearly the whole body of our people actively and eagerly interested in the results of a national enumeration. It is safe to say that at the census of 1880 there were a hundred demands for early information to one in 1870.

Nor are we confined to this fact alone for proof of the assertion above made. The issues of the newspaper press of to-day fairly bristle with figures. The able and astute managers of these great public organs are not acting vainly or lightly in this matter. They well know the interest which

their vast constituencies feel in the statistics which reveal the social and industrial progress of the nation. Whether editors or Congressmen make the freer use of statistics may well be a matter of doubt.

Whether one compares the American newspaper of to-day with that of a former period in this respect, or compares the *Record* of the Fiftieth Congress with the *Globe* of the Fortieth as to the number and extent of statistical tables now and then; or compares the public lectures and addresses of our time with those of the *ante-bellum* age; or notes the large space devoted to political and social science in our universities and colleges, and even in our high schools, in contrast with the utter blank in this department of their old catalogues; or studies the proceedings of commercial conventions or manufacturing associations,—he finds everywhere the proofs of a rapidly rising, fast advancing interest in statistical matters. To suppose that at such a time the United States—which has, almost from its beginnings, occupied the first place among the nations of the earth as to the extent and variety of the statistics, except only those relating to births and deaths—is to fall back from its high place and surrender ground to the advocates, if such there be, of political ignorance, is to assume that a large effect will be produced without a cause.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS

The Forum, VOL. 11 (1891), PP. 258-67

The special purpose of the article is to show how the United States Census differs from that taken in England.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the results of the Eleventh Census, it may be instructive and not without interest to consider what a census of the United States is, how it is taken, how it differs from a census of the European type, and what are its special liabilities to error. Historically, the census of the United States occupies a very proud position. We were the first nation of the world to institute a regular periodical enumeration of the people. Our first census was taken in 1790. The earliest census in England was that of 1801; in Ireland, that of 1811. The censuses of continental Europe came later; but they all came at last, so that to-day there is no civilized country which does not carry on this work at regular intervals.

The priority of this country in a matter of such great consequence has been made the subject of a very high eulogium by a French statistician of eminence, who declares that the United States present a phenomenon without parallel in history—"that of a people who instituted the statistics of their country on the very day when they founded their government, and who regulated by the same instrument the census of their inhabitants, their civil and political rights, and the destinies of their nation." Candor compels us to say that the praise of M. Moreau de Jonnès is not wholly merited. It was not an enlightened appreciation of the value of statistics which induced the statesmen of 1787 to incorporate in the national Constitution the provision requiring a decennial enumeration. The main, if not the sole, reason which actuated them was found in the character of the government which they proposed to set up. For by the Constitution of 1787, the States, while possessing equal powers

in the Senate, were to have weight in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College according to their respective numbers. For carrying out such a system of government a regular periodical enumeration was an absolute necessity. This, and not any felt need of accurate statistics, led to the provision in question. Not philosophical, but purely political, considerations gave the United States priority among the nations in the institution of the modern census.

At first the census was confined strictly to its original object—that of ascertaining the number of the people for the purposes of representation or of direct taxation. Even the names of all the inhabitants were not taken; only the names of householders, with the numbers of their respective families, divided into classes according to age, sex, and color. Soon, however, the census began to grow more extensive and complicated in two different ways: first, through the multiplication of inquiries relating to individuals, upon the family schedule; and, secondly, through the introduction of altogether new subjects of investigation, such as agriculture, the fisheries, mining, and manufactures. The first of these ways of enlarging the work of the census did not involve a departure from its primary object. The earliest census had been too simple fully and fairly to secure that object. To make sure that an enumeration is correct, to be able to verify it in case of complaint or doubt, to eliminate all duplications, to supply all omissions, not a few particulars are necessary regarding each individual counted. For this purpose there are needed, at least, the name, age, sex, race, and occupation. The place of birth—whether abroad or at home, and in what foreign country, or what State of the Union—may also become a decisive means of identification in case of dispute. Moreover, in order that the census may determine the natural militia of the country, it is important to have not only the number of males between eighteen and forty-five years of age, but also all ascertainable facts regarding mental sanity and physical soundness. This last consideration fully justifies the incorporation, in the family schedule, of the inquiries regarding

blindness, deafness and muteness, idiocy, insanity, and permanent disabilities, which, in greater or less fulness, have long been a part of the census.

Certain other inquiries, long ago introduced into the family schedule, have not so clear a justification, according to the strict meaning and primary purpose of a census; yet they constitute no abuse of this agency, either theoretically or practically. For example, that the state may know what provision should be made for public education, the inquiry as to illiteracy becomes of great importance. But whether we have regard to the interest and the attention of the enumerator, which should be concentrated on comparatively few subjects, or to the patience of the public, we must say that a highly conservative spirit should control the number and the nature of the census interrogatories. The commendable zeal and scientific ambition of the officers in charge may easily carry them over the line which marks the maximum value of a popular enumeration. The quality of the information to be obtained is generally of more importance than its quantity. A comparatively few interrogatories, searchingly put, carefully answered, and accurately recorded, will be worth more than a wider canvass conducted with any failure of interest and attention on the part of the enumerator, or with increasing impatience and irritation on the part of the public.

A second way in which the census has been enlarged since 1790 is through the institution of inquiries not in any sense appropriate to the family schedule, especially such as relate to industry and to certain social interests. This movement toward the addition of new schedules to the census began as early as 1810, when an awakening regard for manufactures led to an attempted enumeration of the nascent industries of the country, which was only in a faint degree successful. At three subsequent censuses prior to 1850, more or less work of the same nature was undertaken, seldom with profit. The agencies established were ill adapted to the purpose; statistical science was hardly yet born; the public interest in the results was feeble; the enumerators were inadequately instructed for their work.

In 1850, a new law was enacted for the Seventh Census, and a truly vast addition was made to the scope of the inquiry. The agencies established by this act constituted an improvement in some respects upon those previously existing; but they were still far from adequate to the gigantic task undertaken. In spite of all deficiencies, however, the United States Census of 1850, and those of 1860 and 1870, which were taken under the same law, assumed monumental proportions, which became the admiration of all foreign statisticians. A close and critical examination of the results would doubtless have qualified this feeling in no inconsiderable degree; yet, when all was known, for good or for ill, it remained true that the statistics collected under the Act of 1850 were, in amount and quality, highly honorable to a people so young and necessarily so crude, occupying so vast a territory, and enjoying so little of scientific and political education. In preparation for the Tenth Census, in 1880, a new law was enacted. Again there took place a large extension of the scope of inquiry; but this time, agencies as nearly adequate to the work, as the wisdom of those in charge could devise, were freely provided. That law was substantially reenacted for the census of 1890, and determines the present census system.

I have said that the necessary agencies for taking this great decennial inventory, which now embraces population, wealth, taxation, industry in all its forms, transportation, education, physical and mental infirmity, pauperism, and crime, have been freely provided by Congress. The only limit now to the usefulness of this great work is found in the limited ability of any one man to grasp so many subjects at once; to make fitting preparations for a canvass of a nation of such territory and population as ours; to build in a few months, from the ground upward, the entire machinery of enumeration; to raise, organize, officer, equip, and instruct an army of fifty or sixty thousand men for this service; to set them at work on the 1st of June, all over the country, from Maine westward to Oregon and southward to Florida and Texas; and thereafter to keep them at work, vigorously, zealously, unfailingly, to the full completion of

this mighty task. The limits spoken of are not theoretical merely. It is a question if those limits—whether as to brain power or as to will power—have not already been reached and overpassed. The labor of organizing and energizing a census is such as no man can conceive who has not himself undertaken it, or, at least, stood close by and watched the machine in full operation. Aside from the question of the superintendent's intellectual ability to comprehend his work in all its parts, and to make provision for every foreseen occasion and for every sudden exigency of the enumeration, the strain upon the nerve and the vital force of whomsoever is in charge of the census is something appalling. My successor in the Tenth Census, Col. Charles W. Seaton, was literally killed by the work, and three successive chief clerks of that census died in office. The present Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, Mr. Porter, was driven away to Europe by his physician last summer, while the work was at its height, to save his life. Taking a census of the United States under the present system, and upon the existing scale, is like fighting a battle every day of the week and every week for several months.

The reason for loading upon the decennial census of the United States such a mass of statistics, relating to so many subjects, many of them not necessarily connected with the enumeration of population or even theoretically related to it, has been twofold: first, the sparseness of settlement over large portions of the United States, making it exceedingly expensive to traverse the ground several times to obtain different classes of statistics, when, by crowding the enumerator's portfolio and the enumerator's brain, these might be collected in a single tour, though perhaps at some sacrifice of quality in the results; secondly, the real or affected doubts of certain politicians as to the "constitutionality" of establishing agencies, aside from the census, for conducting inquiries under "Federal" authority, purely in the interest of statistics themselves—that is, in the interest of public intelligence, social science, and political education.

Either of these reasons would have sufficed to give the United States census its present form, if the other had not

existed. Constitutional scruples would have probably existed on the part of enough Congressmen in 1850 to cause the defeat of any proposition for the collection of statistics on a large scale, through a popular inquiry conducted by authority and sustained by legal penalties, if that inquiry had not been made an adjunct of the census expressly authorized and required by the Constitution. It is certain that by 1879 this sort of objection, arising from a paltry and bigoted construction of the Constitution, and from petty and disparaging views of the United States government which it is no longer possible for any intelligent citizen to maintain, had so far diminished that it would not have withstood the adoption of a better system, urged on statistical grounds. To-day, let us hope, we are enough of a nation to put aside considerations so unworthy, and to deal with the subject with reference to practical considerations only. As I have said in another place : *

"It has become simply absurd to hold any longer that a government which has a right to tax any and all the products of agriculture and manufactures, to supervise the making and selling of butterine, to regulate the agencies of transportation, to grant public moneys to schools and colleges, to conduct agricultural experiments and distribute seeds and plant-cuttings all over the United States, to institute scientific surveys by land and deep soundings at sea, has not full authority to pursue any branch of statistical information which may conduce to wise legislation, intelligent administration, or equitable taxation, or in any other way promote the general welfare."

But even if we may consider as disposed of, the political objection to pursuing statistical inquiry separately from the decennial enumeration provided for by the Constitution, what shall be said of the geographical objection once so formidable ? It is, at the beginning, to be remarked that the sole ground of this objection is found in the greater labor and expense of traversing sparsely settled districts several times, to collect different classes of statistics. Where population is compact, economy and efficiency are actually on the side of successive, or, at least, separate, enumerations. In a city, for instance, the effort of "getting about" is reduced to

* Page 81.

a minimum; and three, four, or five different enumerators, each dealing with a class of subjects with which he has, by special instruction and by frequent repetition, become more familiar, will do the work in less time, proportionally, than one enumerator undertaking to carry on the whole line of inquiry himself. Even in small towns and villages this would still hold. In rural districts the time spent in going from house to house constitutes so considerable a part of the whole period occupied, that an enumeration conducted by different sets of enumerators would necessarily be more expensive; but even in regard to this, two things must be said: In the first place, the whole course of the national life has tended to reduce the proportion of the total population thus placed. At the beginning, in 1790, only 131,472 persons, or one thirtieth of the people, lived in cities of more than 8,000 inhabitants; in 1880, the residents of such cities numbered 11,318,547, or two ninths of the whole population. The relative importance of the city population of 1890 was greater still. Were small cities, small towns, and villages included, and also densely occupied agricultural districts, we should scarcely estimate the proportion of the population which could not be enumerated in the manner proposed without an appreciable increase of expense, at more than one half. To this half applies my second remark, namely, that the wonderful growth in the wealth of the whole country, in these later days, has made of smaller and smaller account the additional cost of collecting the various classes of industrial and social statistics through separate agencies, until to-day it is not worth considering in comparison with the advantages to be derived.

Those advantages are twofold. In the first place, by such a divorce of the census proper from the other statistics now taken in the census, the value of the latter would be greatly enhanced. Each class of statistics could then be taken in the time and in the way best suited to secure good results. One illustration of this, out of many that might be offered, I will select from the statistics of agriculture. The United States census is taken on June 1; but at that time the crops of the year are not harvested, consequently, it is the crops

of the preceding year which are enumerated. The census of agriculture, therefore, in addition to all its other defects, starts out with being a year behindhand, and the statistics are musty before they are gathered. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, where the proposed separation of agencies has been effected with the best results, the statistics of agriculture are dated November 1, when the crops of the year are all in the barns, and the facts relating to them are fresh in the minds of the farmers. The second advantage which would result from the change proposed, would be found in the gain which the census proper would derive from singleness of aim and attention on the part of the Census Office and the enumerators; and perhaps, also, from a better temper on the part of the people.

It is only of the census thus constituted— that is, of the census in its original function as an enumeration of inhabitants—that I shall speak in the remainder of this article. Thus considered, we see at a glance that a census of the United States differs in its very conception from a European census. To exhibit this fundamental difference, let us take the English census. Once in ten years, as with us, the English government makes an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Kingdom. The time chosen is the night of the 2d of April. On or before that day the enumerator must leave at each house within his district a family schedule, which calls for the name and personal characteristics—age, sex, color, occupation, etc.—of each person who on that night shall sleep in that house. The next day, namely, the 3d of April, the enumerator calls and collects the schedules. If, as so often happens, no one in the household can write, the enumerator acts as the friend of the family and fills out the schedule himself for them, upon the information that they give. Otherwise, he simply looks over the schedule as filled to see that it is properly made out, and "takes it up" on his rounds. Although all this is supposed to be done in one day, the enumerator, if necessary, can take a part of the second day for his collection; but every schedule has reference to the night of the 2d of April. If a man be travelling on that night, he is to be reported at the hotel or private house at

which he arrives in the morning. Special arrangements are made for enumerating persons employed in caravans and circuses; people on canal-boats and in ships at the wharves; janitors, porters, and watchmen sleeping in stores; tramps in the station-houses, and paupers in the casual wards. Even the poor wretches lying under the arches of bridges, on the pavements of public squares, or on benches in the parks, are, so far as possible, identified and accounted for. A great army of trained officials is at work and on the watch, to seize, momentarily to fix, and, as it were, to photograph the inhabitants of the whole Kingdom at the same time; and thus, so far as human skill and ingenuity can effect, to present a picture of the population.

A census of the United States is a very different thing. As in England, the census is supposed to be taken on a certain day,—with us, the 1st of June,—but the question regarding each and every man is not where he was on that day, but where, on that day, he had "his usual place of abode." And to record the inhabitants according to this definition the enumerator is allowed, not one day only, but many days —in cities, two weeks; in rural districts, one month. The most apparent reason for this difference is the sparseness of settlement over large portions of the country. There are hundreds of thousands of square miles with us on which there is, on an average, but one house to the square mile. There are hundreds of thousands more on which the average is but two or three. Clearly, to organize a system by which the whole census work shall be done in one day, over vast, half-desert areas like these, would be an almost impossible thing.

But an even stronger reason for the difference indicated is found in the essentially political character of the enumeration with us. In Europe the interest is mainly statistical. Here the primary and principal purpose is to prepare for the redistribution of representation. Hence it follows that persons must be recorded, not where they chance to be at any given moment, but where they properly belong. By disregarding this consideration it might easily happen that a great city, like New York or Chicago, would gain fifty or a

hundred thousand at the expense of other communities. There were days during the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 when Philadelphia would, according to the European system, have gained fully as much as the largest of these numbers. Such a result would justly be held a grave infringement upon the rights of the cities and States which suffered this accidental loss of population. In a word, a European census is an enumeration of the population *de facto;* and as the interest there is mainly statistical, this is the most satisfactory method, the results being the best that are humanly attainable. The United States census attempts a *de jure* enumeration of the people, and accepts a certain amount of error, statistically, as the price to be paid, since, whenever a definition of residence is introduced into the count, there is always a liability that a person may be taken in both of two places, or that between the two he may be left out of the enumeration altogether; nor is there any assurance that the omissions will balance the duplications. The tendency on one side may be two, three, or four times as great as on the other. The liability of error of one kind or the other is vastly greater in a city or a factory town than in a long-settled agricultural district. It is often greater in one town or city than in another; for example, in New York, where people largely reside in hotels, flats, or boarding-houses, and where intermural migration is incessant, than in Philadelphia, where the people, to an almost unparalleled degree, live in their own houses, and where movement within the city is exceptional.

The liability to error in a census of the United States, as a whole, is to-day many fold what it was forty years ago. If one is disposed to ask why, let him consider not only the changes wrought in the proportion between city and rural populations in that time; not only the changes in city populations themselves as to their modes of living, but the astonishing dimensions to which the annual movement from city to country in May and June, and from country to city in October and November, has recently attained. Let him contemplate the great summer cities which have been built up all along our coasts, the hundreds of hotels and boarding-

houses among the mountains, the thousands of summer villas along the rivers and upon the lakes, which are occupied only in summer; and he will find no difficulty in accepting the statement that has been made.

To the professional statistician the only thoroughly satisfactory census is one which makes a *de facto* enumeration of the population at the very best time that can be taken for that purpose—a census that takes an instantaneous photograph of the people as they are at a given moment; but the political reasons which have given form to the United States census are likely long to prevent the introduction of such a style of enumeration among us. It may come about in time that the people, out of patience with the inevitable errors of the traditional census, and weary with the quarrels and recriminations between States and cities necessarily attendant upon it, will unanimously agree to waive the theoretical objections to the photographic method, as possibly, probably, and in some degree certainly, affecting unequally the basis of representation, and will accept the latter system as good enough for political purposes, and as vastly more satisfactory from all other points of view.

THE GREAT COUNT OF 1890

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THE GREAT COUNT OF 1890.

On the first day of June, 1890, under a provision of the national Constitution, nearly forty-nine thousand enumerators began the great decennial work of counting the inhabitants of the United States; in cities and towns, on farms and ranches, in mining and lumbering camps, along railways and rivers, upon the shore, and high up in mountain ravines. It was the Eleventh Census. The first had been taken in 1790, the year after the formation of the government under the Constitution. The eleventh was, therefore, to show the changes of a hundred years—the first century of the nation's life. The occasion was one which should have been of the deepest interest to a great, free people.

The importance of the work would seem to have required that the enumeration be opened by a presidential proclamation, invoking the public attention, calling upon all citizens to aid the officers of the law, and demanding, in the name of patriotism and honor, that political and sectional passions and prejudices be laid aside while this great Constitutional function was being performed. It is difficult to understand the failure, from the beginning, to usher in the national census in this way. When one considers what the census is to our people,—that it is a condition precedent of our form of government, and that by it are to be apportioned both direct taxation and political representation,—it would seem as if the mere proprieties of the occasion demanded an executive proclamation, even though no more of practical virtue were expected from it than is supposed to emanate from an annual proclamation appointing a day of thanksgiving and praise or one of fasting and humiliation. But when it is further considered that the census is preeminently a work which depends, for its integrity and efficiency, upon public

interest and attention, and upon the cheerful cooperation of all classes of citizens and all sorts of people, the failure referred to becomes altogether inexplicable.

When first it was my fortune to be assigned to the superintendency of the United States census, I besought the President to give to the opening of the enumeration the prestige and *éclat* of a proclamation. General Grant was not indisposed to do so, but the inexorable Department of State interposed its objection. There never had been such a proceeding, and therefore there never could be. Reasons were nothing as against precedents; and so the great national canvass was allowed to begin with as little of ceremony and of observation as the annual peregrinations of a village assessor. Is it unreasonable to hope that recent painful experiences will effectually impress on the minds of our rulers the expediency of distinguishing this function as clearly as possible from the ordinary routine work of government, and of publicly invoking for it the good will and active cooperation of all ?

The work of the Eleventh Census began, as was said, on the 1st of June. In cities the work was generally concluded within two weeks. In rural districts the enumeration was allowed to be protracted through the entire month. In many districts, however, here and there, the canvass, owing to accidents or to unforeseen obstacles, dragged on through some days or weeks longer. In a very few distant and difficult districts its completion was still further delayed; but on the 21st of October the last returns were received, and on the 28th of that month the Census Office announced the population as 62,480,540, exclusive of "Indians not taxed," according to the phrase of the Constitution. As the result of minor corrections, this total was subsequently changed to 62,622,250, which—whoever may be content or non-content—is destined to stand as the record for 1890.

The count of 1790 showed 3,929,214 inhabitants; so that in the past century the population has increased to nearly sixteen-fold its original number. How far this increase has been out of the loins of the men of 1790 and how far it has been due to immigration from foreign countries, we may

take another occasion to inquire. More marvellous even than the growth in numbers has been the spread of population westward over territory which was then an unbroken wilderness, roamed over only by savage beasts and savage men. The people of 1790 were found wholly in a narrow tract along the Atlantic shore, except where adventurous colonists, to the number of perhaps two hundred thousand, had taken up lands amid primeval forests in the valley of the Ohio. The total inhabited area of those days may be roughly given as a quarter of a million square miles. To-day nearly a million and three quarters square miles are more or less densely covered by population. Then the average density of settlement was sixteen to the square mile. To-day it is nearly forty to the square mile, over a sevenfold area.

The moral and physical energy and courage, the intellectual activity and enterprise exhibited by the American people in thus overrunning and occupying, settling and cultivating, a million and a half of square miles in the course of a single century, is absolutely unparalleled in the history of mankind. It stands, and will long stand, without a rival among human achievements. Think what it means! an average each year of fifteen thousand square miles—a territory larger than Holland, nearly as large as Switzerland with all its barren mountains! for each ten years a territory as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined, first entered upon, taken up, and annexed to the previously occupied and cultivated area! This story of the geographical process of the national growth is among the marvels of our race; and I confess it is to me not less a subject of admiration than the highest achievements in art, letters, and science, or in conquest and warlike enterprise. No other people could have extended settlement in so short a time over so vast a space. Any other of the great migratory races, Slav or Tartar, would have broken hopelessly down in the effort to compass such a field in such a term of years.

Unfortunately, the natural and proper pride and self-satisfaction with which the record of our first hundred years as a nation should have been made up, has been greatly impaired and diminished by grave and widespread complaints against

the count of 1890. It is to these, rather than to gratulation over the undoubted results, that the present paper must be addressed. Certainly, there was great popular surprise and disappointment over the announcement made from the Census Office in October last; and to many persons popular surprise and disappointment are evidence enough. But after a century of censuses we can hardly accept this sort of proof. Experience has shown that dissatisfaction may exist at its maximum where no good reason appears; and, again, that the gravest errors of enumeration may pass unnoticed. When the first census was taken, the people were wholly unreconciled to find that they numbered only four millions—indeed, not quite four millions; and Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in communicating the results to our ministers abroad, formally notified them that the returns were believed to be inadequate, and even kindly undertook, by "figures in red ink," to supply the deficiencies. Yet the course of the three or four censuses which followed showed conclusively that the census of 1790 was minutely accurate; so much so that it became, as we shall see, the base-line from which population could be unerringly projected for the next fifty years.

A census may be criticised in one or all of three different ways: First, this may be done objectively, by direct proof of its inaccuracy adduced from the outside, as when names of actual residents are shown to have been omitted in large numbers. Such proof may be furnished by another count if carried on in such a way as to be itself incontestable, or by bringing forward a multitude of well-authenticated individual cases of omission. Secondly, the census may be criticised by internal evidence, as when the schedules themselves show, upon expert examination, that they have been fraudulently or loosely made up; or as when the resulting statistics fail to agree among themselves, or fail to correspond to proportions which are determined by laws of population so well ascertained and so general in their operation that no large body of people can escape their control. Thirdly, the criticism may be by comparison with preceding and succeeding censuses, as when an enumeration fails, in a degree not to be accounted for by any temporary causes which

can be adduced, to take its due place in the series. An illustration of this last method is furnished by the Ninth Census, which passed without any general adverse criticism at the time, but which the census of 1880 proved to have been in error to a large extent through the Southern States.

Direct external evidence against the general integrity of the census, throughout a country so broad and of such widely varying conditions as the United States, is not easily obtained, even if it could be had at all, in the degree which would be necessary to condemn the work as a whole. The results of an enumeration carried on over an extended district are not homogeneous. They must differ somewhat in quality—and they may even differ widely—without, perhaps, much blame except in the very worst cases. Hence, such a work cannot be appraised by tests applied at random. No matter how well the work in general may have been done, bad spots can always be detected, here and there, by searching scrutiny. On the other hand, against the widest dereliction from duty the conscientiousness of individual supervisors or enumerators will erect a barrier. Not only does the "personal equation" of enumerators and supervisors thus constitute the enumeration of each district, to a certain extent, a thing by itself, but the special liabilities and difficulties of individual districts and regions are such as necessarily to cause great differences in the degrees of accuracy which can possibly be attained. There are rural communities in which it would be inexcusable for a census-taker to omit a single person among five hundred or a thousand. There are other communities in which it would no more be possible for a census-taker to secure the name of every resident than it would be for an accomplished angler to catch the last trout in a stream. Since, therefore, a census is never all good or all bad, it cannot be judged as a whole by the number and kind of tests which the heedless, impatient character of our people will be likely to cause to be made. Especially when such tests are applied at the instance of aggrieved municipalities, or are carried on in a partisan spirit, are they unlikely to do more than render the public mind uneasy and dissatisfied, without

affording any measure of the degree of error, or even proving that the census as a whole is defective.

The most important instance of an attempt to secure external evidence against the Eleventh Census is afforded by the painful case of New York City. It will never cease to be a source of regret that the administration at Washington did not take the initiative in this matter and direct a re-enumeration, as was done in the case of both New York and Philadelphia in 1870. Such a course would have delayed for a few weeks the final announcement of the result for the whole country; and might, in consequence, have prevented the reapportionment of representation in Congress during the last session. But this would not have been a high price to pay for setting at rest the complaints—whether well founded or ill founded—of the press and the municipal authorities of New York, and for saving, to a great extent, the prestige of the whole census. As it is, the record is made up with a very unhappy state of things: a national enumeration which credits the city with 1,515,301 inhabitants, and a police count 197,000 in excess. Such a contradiction in terms, whatever value one may attribute to the enumeration under municipal authority, cannot fail permanently to impair the satisfaction felt in the centennial canvass of the country.

It is not possible to explain away the difference. It is true that the police count was made at a time when tens of thousands had returned to the city from seaside and mountain. It is true that the police count did not refer back to the census date, June 1, and that the large natural growth of the city during the interval, amounting to some thousands each month, was included in the later enumeration. It is true that the foreign arrivals at the port during the autumn were extremely heavy, and that an unusually large proportion of these stayed in the city. But after all reasonable allowance has been made on these accounts, there remains an enormous difference, which can only mean that one or the other of these enumerations was inexcusably wrong. Either the census officers throughout large districts did their work with culpable negligence, or else the police who were set to follow

them made their canvass recklessly and wantonly, counting people at their places of business and again where they lived; counting not only the guests at hotels (most of whom had their "usual place of abode" away from New York), but including the guests of many successive days; counting residents of New Jersey and Brooklyn trading or working in New York; counting anybody and everybody whose name they could secure. One or the other of the two censuses must have been in the wrong in the ways and to the degree indicated.

As between the two enumerations thus strongly contrasted, the presumption is, on general principles, in favor of that conducted by the general government. Police censuses and school censuses have often been shown to be untrustworthy. The ways of inflating a census are so many, and all of them are so easy, and the examples of St. Louis, Minneapolis, and St. Paul exhibit so strikingly the passion for exaggerating population for local prestige, that no statistician of experience would be willing to stake much upon such a count unless he had watched it in progress and had seen that its spirit and its methods were not those of an enumeration gotten up to show the largest results possible. On the other hand, it is to be said that a census of New York City at the best constitutes a most difficult problem, calling for the highest order of intelligence, energy, and foresight on the part of those who organize and supervise it; for the utmost care, deliberation, and conscientious earnestness on the part of those who are to do the work of finding and recording the inhabitants of the several wards and districts. Otherwise there will inevitably be large omissions from the count. In comparison with such a task, a census of Philadelphia is child's play. There we have a city openly built, with ninety houses to every hundred families. Tenement-houses are rare. Few of the people sleep in stables, in cellars, or in lofts. The houses are set squarely on the street. Four fifths of the inhabitants are native born, and all, but a trifling percentage, of English speech. Merely to state these facts is, to one who knows anything of New York, enough to show the difficulties of enumeration in that city, which in 1880

had for 243,157 families but 73,684 dwellings, of which perhaps 20,000 were tenement-houses within the meaning of the sanitary acts. New York is a city with crowded and crooked courts and alleys in the lower parts, and with thousands of shanties, sheds, and inhabited sties in the upper parts, and its population is almost equally divided between natives and foreigners, no small proportion of the latter element using languages other than English—not merely the more or less familiar German and French, but Slavic and even non-Aryan tongues.

With such constituents and under such physical conditions, New York affords far the severest test to which the census is subjected. Here is the field on which a capable superintendent may exert all his powers and yet not do the work altogether to his own satisfaction, perhaps not at all to the satisfaction of the metropolitan newspapers. Under such imminence of hostile criticism, no care, no pains, no expenditure can be too great for the due preparation and conduct of the enumeration of the first city of America. For the same reason, however, that makes a comparative failure of the enumeration in New York City not unlikely to occur, a certain degree—not extravagant—of failure there could not be held to establish a presumption against the census in cities better adapted to enumeration, or even to raise doubts concerning it. Bad work, however—decidedly bad work in New York—must raise such doubts and may establish such a presumption. Yet, in spite of doubts or hostile presumptions, it might still be true that while the census of New York, owing to the mysterious appointment of an incapable or negligent supervisor, was wretchedly taken, in the remaining one hundred and seventy-four supervisors' districts, the work was fairly well done, perhaps better done than usual.

Excepting in the case of New York City, I am not aware that more has been offered in the way of external evidence against the Eleventh Census than is likely to occur in connection with any popular enumeration. The newspapers have contained the usual number of complaints from cities which have highly inflated ideas of their own importance,—

especially cities which are under the exhilarating influence of real-estate "booms,"—and the usual number of letters from householders, declaring that their families have been passed by in the enumeration. Experience has abundantly shown that such complaints from aggrieved municipalities do not even constitute a kind of evidence; while of such letter-writers, generally two thirds, often four fifths, sometimes nine tenths, are duly recorded in the census, the required information having been given, with less or more of exactness, by members of the family in the absence of its head, by servants in the absence of the family, or, in the absence of both family and servants, by neighbors, the corner apothecary, or the domestic green-grocer.

Internal evidence against the Eleventh Census is not yet accessible in any considerable degree. Although the work of compilation and tabulation at Washington is going forward with unprecedented energy and expedition, it must be many months before the complete results will be in the hands of either the champions or the critics of the census. When that time shall come, a great deal of ingenuity will doubtless be employed in drawing from the tables of age, sex, race, nativity, etc., evidence to invalidate or to corroborate the count of 1890.

Lest any of my readers should fail to understand how such evidence can be applied, I will offer a single illustration. As we shall see at a later period in this paper, the Eleventh Census can be held to be a true count upon one condition only, namely, that it shall appear that the general birth-rate has been diminishing during the decade. With the number of people resident in the country in 1880, and with the number of foreigners arriving since that date, the population of 1890 must, had its previous rate of natural increase been maintained, have far exceeded 62,500,000. Here we see the way in which the census, if grossly imperfect, will be compelled to furnish the material for its own condemnation. Should the proportion of the total population under ten years of age be the same as it was in 1880—namely, 26½ per cent—the census will be discredited. With all who survive from the fifty millions of 1880, with all who

survive from the five and a quarter millions of foreigners that have come into the country during the decade, and with sixteen and a half millions of children under ten years of age, the total of sixty-two and a half millions for 1890 cannot be correct. Should, on the other hand, the falling off in the birth-rate during the past decade prove to be such as corroborates the census, it will still be most interesting to note two things: (1) whether the retardation of the birth-rate has extended geographically, westward and southward; (2) whether it has included the foreign as well as the native element. The foregoing is but one of several tests, more or less searching and conclusive, which the compiled statistics will afford the means of applying to the Eleventh Census. For these, however, we shall have to wait some time.

The more usual resort of those who would inquire as to the accuracy of a popular enumeration, is to the line of population as projected from the course of preceding enumerations. This has been the argument of the New York *Nation* and *Evening Post* in their unrelenting attacks upon Mr. Porter's count. These papers have not ceased to say that the census of 1890 must be wrong because it does not fairly correspond with the results of previous censuses, allowance being made for every known force operating within the field. A census of France which should show a large increase of population would be on that account suspected, because population in that country has made but slight gains during this century. A census of the United States which does not show a very large increase of population becomes on that account suspected, because the course of population here has been upward at a very high angle. The question is of such great statistical interest and political importance as to require us to go back to the beginning and trace the line of ascent from 1790 to 1890.

It has been said that the first census of the United States showed 3,929,214 inhabitants. The second census discovered a population of 5,308,483, a gain of 35.1 per cent. In 1810 the population reached 7,239,881, a gain of 36.38 per cent in the decade. Taking these figures, Mr. Elkanah Watson, about 1815, constructed a table of the probable future popu-

lation of the United States, which, for the next four censuses, showed a marvellous correspondence with the ascertained results, as will appear by the following table:

	1830.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Watson's Estimate	9,625,734	12,833,645	17,116,526	23,185,368
The Census	9,633,822	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's Error....	− 8,088	− 32,375	+ 47,073	− 6,508

What was it that enabled a prediction to be made so close as almost to savor of magic? Here was a man computing the population of his country, not to within 10, or 5, or 3 per cent, but to within one fourth part of one in a thousand; doing this thirty-five years in advance, when far more than two thirds of those who were to constitute that population were yet to be born, and when one half of the marriages from which such births were to result were yet to be contracted, not to speak of courtships to be conducted and acquaintanceships to be formed! Yet there was nothing especially deserving admiration in Watson's predictions. The author had no grasp upon the future beyond what other men possess. His estimates were not even based upon a careful survey of the soil and climate of the country. That which caused the growth of numbers through the earlier decades of our history to be so strikingly uniform was the principle of population operating absolutely without check among a people spread sparsely over the soil, with little of wealth and little of extreme poverty, and with nothing to make child-bearing a burden. Under conditions like these, population increases at a geometrical ratio as regularly as a gas expands in a vacuum.

About 1850 great and momentous changes began to appear in the social and industrial life of the American people. Manufactures on the large scale were introduced, creating vast factory populations. Commerce began to build up great cities. The gold discoveries in California and Australia began to work changes almost as great as those wrought by the silver mines of Mexico and Peru three centuries before.

The distinction between the very rich and the very poor appeared and became constantly aggravated. Fashion inaugurated its reign; luxurious habits and tastes spread rapidly; the integrity of the American family was impaired, and the vice of "boarding" grew fast by indulgence. In 1861 the civil war broke out, checking population by its first effects, and by its subsequent influence magnifying all the causes that have been indicated. Finally, vast hordes of foreigners began to arrive upon our shores, drawn from the degraded peasantries of Europe, accustomed to a far lower standard of living, with habits strange and repulsive to our people. This, again, caused the native population more and more to shrink within themselves, creating an increasing reluctance to bring forth sons and daughters to compete in the market for labor.

Let us now see how the validity of Watson's further estimates was affected by these changes:

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Watson's Estimate	31,753,824	42,328,432	56,450,241	77,266,989
The Census.....	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250
Watson's Error....	+ 310,503	+ 3,770,061	+ 6,294,458	+ 14,644,739

Watson's final estimate—that for 1900—was 100,235,985. It now appears probable that this will prove to be in excess of the enumerated population by more than twenty millions.

Let us follow this rapid sketch of the movement of population in the United States, with a table showing the gain, per cent, for periods of ten, twenty, and thirty years.

The first glance at the following table raises suggestions which are not favorable to the census of 1890. Why should the rate of increase by ten-year periods have fallen off from 35.58 per cent between 1850 and 1860 to 22.63 between 1860 and 1870, to rise again to 30.08 between 1870 and 1880? "On account of the war," is the natural answer. Yes; but if so, why should it have again fallen to 24.85 between 1880 and 1890? To this inquiry the Census Office replies by alleging that the census of 1870 was defective. So much is

Year.	Population.	Increase Per Cent.		
		In 10 Years.	In 20 Years.	In 30 Years.
1790	3,929,214	.....	.....	.....
1800	5,308,483	35.10	.....	.....
1810	7,239,881	36.38	84.26	.....
1820	9,633,822	33.07	81.49	145.19
1830	12,866,020	33.55	77.72	142.38
1840	17,069,453	32.67	77.18	135.76
1850	23,191,876	35.87	80.26	140.73
1860	31,443,321	35.58	84.21	144.39
1870	38,558,371	22.63	66.26	125.89
1880	50,155,783	30.08	59.51	116.26
1890	62,622,250	24 85	62.41	99.16

admitted; the degree, only, of that deficiency is a matter of dispute. The Census Office estimates the deficiency of 1870, roundly, at a million and a half. If this were so, the series would be reasonably self-consistent, as follows:

Decade.	Increase Per Cent.
1860–70	27
1870–80	25
1880–90	25

I am not disposed to admit that the deficiency was nearly so great as this. But whether we take it to have been a million or three quarters of a million, the correction for 1870 will largely remove the statistical irregularities noted in the ten-year series.

But there is a better way of dealing with the question. The advantage of taking twenty-year or thirty-year periods is that this enables us to jump completely over a suspected or contested census. Whatever we may think of the census of 1870, it is not disputed that the population of the country increased only 116.26 per cent between 1850 and 1880. It is with this ratio that we should compare that of the thirty-year period between 1860 and 1890, when the gain was 99.16 per cent. It is true that the falling off here was much greater than between the two thirty-year periods 1830–60 and 1840–70. But since it is admitted that a large addition, somewhere between three quarters of a million and a

million and a half, requires to be made to the population of 1870, we find this irregularity to be measurably accounted for, and the series, thus corrected, to be, for the last four censuses, tolerably self-consistent. Thus, if we suppose the population of 1870 to have been 39,300,000, we should have the last four thirty-year periods as follows:

Period.	Increase Per Cent.
1830–60	144.39
1840–70	130.23
1850–80	116.26
1860–90	99.16

There is, however, one important fact, not appearing in the foregoing table, which dashes our satisfaction at this result, and throws the whole matter again into doubt and dispute. That fact is the enormously increased immigration of the period from 1880 to 1890. Foreign arrivals during that decade were about five and a quarter millions, or twice as much as during the immediately preceding or any preceding decade. This is the element not, as yet, accounted for in the Eleventh Census. This constitutes the real *gravamen* of the hostile charges against that census. Had the foreign arrivals of 1880–90 been only as great as those of 1870–80, the result for 1890—namely, 62,500,000—would have been perfectly reasonable on its face, and, in the absence of internal or external evidence, incontestable. But since those foreign arrivals were two and a half millions more, why was not the population of 1890 greater by that amount?

Here appears the significance of the condition mentioned in the early part of this paper. If the birth-rate among the previously existing population did not suffer a sharp decline coincidently with that enormous increase of immigration, and, perhaps, in consequence of it, the census of 1890 cannot be vindicated. To ascertain the facts we must await the tabulation of the population by periods of life, and ascertain how many of the inhabitants of the United States in 1890 were under ten years of age.

THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES

The Forum, VOL. 11 (1891), PP. 501-09

Additional statistical considerations involved in the conclusions reached in this article, are treated at greater length in a paper entitled *Statistics of the Colored Race in the United States*, in *Publications of the American Statistical Association;* VOL. 2 (1890), PP. 91–106.

THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE are several things which unite to give a peculiar interest to the statistics of the colored race in the United States. In the first place, we are here dealing with an element of the population whose presence in the land is due entirely to force. All the other elements of our population represent migrations, early or late, which were voluntary; but the blacks were originally brought into this country through high-handed, brutal, often barbarously cruel violence. It would be no strained supposition that but for the slave-trade as, with all its horrors, it was carried on between 1620 and 1808, there would not be 75,000 Africans in the United States, whereas now we have 7,500,000.*

In addition to the fact just noted, viz., that but for the slave-trade the blacks would not have been here at all, we have, in the second place, the fact that the domestic institution of slavery caused this element of our population to be distributed within the country, prior to 1861, very differently from what it would have been had the blacks been left free to place themselves according to their own tastes and industrial aptitudes. Wherever the master went within the territory where slavery was protected by law, he carried the slave, without reference to the latter's predilections; and the natural range of residence for the master was much greater than the natural range of residence for the slave. The former represented a race bred in northern latitudes, and was hence thoroughly at home on the mountain side or table-land; while yet, by the privilege of his strain, he could, without danger or great inconvenience, move southward if his interests required. The latter, on the other hand, represented a race bred under tropical conditions, and could

* See Note 1, page 136.

move up the mountain side or go northward only at a large sacrifice of vitality and force.

But it was not merely the will or the interests of the master class which caused a far wider distribution of the colored element than would have taken place in a state of freedom. In his effort to escape from bondage, the black man made his way into regions whose climate and prevailing industries were, in almost the last degree, alien or hostile to him. Hence it came about that the close of the war found large bodies of this element of the population in positions which were highly abnormal.

In the third place, the abrupt conclusion of the slave-trade in 1808, and the absence of any considerable immigration of colored people since that date, give a unique clearness and confidence to the statistical study of this element of our population. Substantially all of the 7,500,000 colored persons in the United States to-day are descended from the 700,000 women of this race found in the United States in 1810.

In the fourth place, while white blood has been, in some degree, mixed with colored, it has resulted, partly from the force of the old slave laws, by which the child followed the condition of the mother, and partly from the instinctive sentiments of the people, that all the descendants of those 700,000 colored women are still recognized and grouped together in the census. A man or a woman who is one quarter French or German, or even one half English, Irish, or Scotch, may not be known as such except by family friends; but a man or a woman who has a quarter, perhaps even only an eighth, of negro blood is still recognized as belonging to that race, and is so classed, not only in popular speech, but in the enumerations of the census.

The first census, in 1790, found the colored population of the country 757,208, constituting 19.3 per cent of the total population. The census of 1810, two years after the abolition of the slave-trade, found this element numbering 1,377,808, or 19 per cent of the total population.* Ever since the latter date the increase of the colored element has been less

* See Note 2, page 137.

than that of the total population; and at each successive census the colored element has been found to constitute a smaller and still smaller share of the total population. In this last statement I assume a reasonable correction of the admitted defects of the census of 1870 in respect to the colored people of the South.

We do not yet know exactly what was the colored population of 1890 as found by the Eleventh Census. But the central office at Washington has, with truly remarkable promptitude, given us the figures for all the late slave States and for the single free State of Kansas; communities which embraced fifteen sixteenths of this element of the population in 1880. So far, the rate of gain in the ten years intervening has been found to be 13.9 per cent, as against 24.86 per cent for the entire population of the country. If we apply to the remainder of the colored population of 1880 the same ratio of increase which has been found to exist in that part which has been counted, we shall have the total for 1890 a little under seven and a half millions.

TABLE I.—COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Years.	Colored Population.	Per Cent of Total Population.	Increase Per Cent.		
			In 10 Years.	In 20 Years.	In 30 Years.
1790.....	757,208	19.3	.....	.....	.....
1800.....	1,002,037	18.9	32.33	.....	.....
1810.....	1,377,808	19.0	37.50	81.96	.....
1820.....	1,771,656	18.4	28.59	76.80	133.97
1830.....	2,328,642	18.1	31.44	69.01	132.39
1840.....	2,873,648	16.8	23.40	62.20	108.57
1850.....	3,638,808	15.7	26.63	56.26	105.39
1860.....	4,441,830	14.1	22.07	54.57	90.74
1870.....	5,391,000*	13.8	21.37	48.15	87.59
1880.....	6,580,793	13.1	22.07	48.15	80.25
1890....	7,500,000*	11.9	13.90	39.12	68.85

I have spoken of corrections to be made in the figures given for the colored population for 1870. The present Census Office has estimated the loss out of this element, at that time, to have been three quarters of a million. My own estimate has always placed that loss between three and four hundred thousand. Professor Newton, the eminent mathe-

matician of Yale University, has recently computed it as about 550,000.. Calling the loss 510,000, we then have, in the foregoing table, the statistical history of the colored race within the United States during the first hundred years of the nation's history.

Thus, while the total population of the country has, during the century, increased sixteenfold, the colored element has increased but tenfold. In 1790 that element constituted nearly one fifth of the population; in 1840, but one sixth; in 1860, but one seventh; in 1890, less than one eighth. The increase per cent within that element itself has tended to a decline since 1810, alike by ten-year periods and by twenty-year periods; while the decline has been continuous by thirty-year periods from the beginning.

These references to the past of the colored race in the United States have been made mainly with a view to clearing the ground for reasonable conjectures regarding its future. What can be said of this ? In the first place, a glance at the foregoing table is sufficient to establish a strong probability that the movement there seen to have been so steadily in progress, during eighty years, toward reducing the relative importance of this element in the population of the country, will go on, at least through a considerable future, before it can be arrested; the strongest improbability that this movement will ever, in our future course as a nation, be reversed.

But is there anything to be said on this point beyond what appears on the first glance at our table ? Here comes in the significance of one of the considerations adverted to in the opening of this article, viz., that the distribution of the colored people over our land, prior to the outbreak of the civil war, had been very different from what it would have been had only their own natural aptitudes and instincts been consulted in that matter. If this be true, we should expect to find that, during the twenty-five or twenty-seven years since the blacks were left free to move within the country upon their own impulses, social, economical, and climatic forces have been operating to redress the disturbed balance. On this point the evidence of the Tenth Census

* Partly estimated.

could not be very conclusive, especially in view of the disputed count of 1870; but the testimony of the Eleventh Census, so far as it has yet been given, very clearly shows that a movement is in progress toward the abandonment, by the blacks, of the higher, colder, and drier lands to which they were carried by the will of the master class.

Unfortunately we have, as yet, only Kansas among the former free States, in the race tables thus far issued by the Census Office; and the experience of a single State in this respect cannot be held to go very far, especially as the numbers concerned are small. We shall, therefore, omit consideration of it.

In the following table we draw into two groups all the other States of which the race statistics are now attainable. The first embraces the middle-southern belt of the old slave States; States in which slavery was quite as much of a political and social as of an economic institution; States in which slaves were held, perhaps, even more from considerations of social dignity and importance, or of personal convenience, than from considerations of pecuniary gain. These States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri. With them goes the District of Columbia. In most of these communities the colored element has traditionally been one quarter or less of the whole population, the exceptions being North Carolina, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, where, ten years ago, this element constituted a third or more of the total population. Only two, viz., North Carolina and Tennessee, are considerable cotton States; and in each of these the cultivation of that crop is confined to comparatively small sections. The constitution of the second group speaks for itself.

In the first group, West Virginia and the District of Columbia show a comparatively high rate of increase; but this concerns very small populations only. The remaining great masses of the colored people of 1880 in this group show gains far below the average of that element for the whole country. On the other hand, it is noticeable how closely, with the exception of Arkansas, Florida, and Texas (all of

TABLE II.—COLORED POPULATION OF CERTAIN STATES.

State.	1880.	1890.	Per Cent of Increase.
Delaware	26,442	29,022	9.76
District of Columbia	59,596	75,927	27.40
Kentucky	271,451	272,981	0.56
Maryland	210,230	218,004	3.70
Missouri	145,350	154,131	6.04
North Carolina	531,277	567,170	6.76
Tennessee	403,151	434,300	7.73
Virginia	631,616	640,867	1.46
West Virginia	25,886	33,508	29.44
Alabama	600,103	681,431	13.55
Arkansas	210,666	311,227	47.73
Florida	126,090	166,678	31.56
Georgia	725,133	863,716	19.11
Louisiana	483,655	562,893	16.38
Mississippi	650,291	747,720	14.98
South Carolina	604,332	692,503	14.59
Texas	393,384	492,837	25.28

which had in 1880, and indeed still have, large unoccupied areas), the cotton-planting States keep to that average. The great masses of colored population in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, have increased during the decade 13.55 up to 19.11 per cent.

Taking the two groups as wholes, we find that the increase of the colored population during 1880–90 has been in the first but 5½ per cent, while in the second it approximated 19 per cent. Meanwhile the increase of white population in all these States greatly outran that of the colored.

Not only has there thus been, as between the first and the second group of States under consideration, a decided tendency to a concentration of the colored element in the cotton-raising States on or near the Gulf, but in certain of the States of either group which have a wide range in altitude there has also been manifested a tendency, though naturally much less marked in force, toward the concentration of that element upon the lower lands. Thus in Georgia, which comprises a vast extent alike of typical "black-belt" cotton lands and of mountain lands suited to manufactures and mining, 48.43 per cent of the colored population of

1880 lived less than five hundred feet above the sea. In 1890 the ratio had increased to 51.87. In Tennessee, which likewise had a wide range in altitude, the corresponding proportions have increased from 50.52 in 1880 to 52.40 in 1890.

What do such facts as have been adduced from the record of the past ten years indicate regarding the future of the colored race in the United States? I answer, they show that the anticipations which so many Americans have formed, with more or with less of satisfaction, regarding a large continuous increase of that element, up to some ultimate very high point, have little foundation in recent experience. The presiding officer of a Republican State convention two years ago sketched for his auditors a growth of the colored race in the United States, which was to bring them, at no distant future, to a total of fifty millions! Of course, the extravagance of this computation was due in great part to the omissions (already referred to in this paper) from the colored census of 1870, which caused a very large apparent gain between that year and 1880. But the unreality of the estimate in question was also in part due to a failure to note the consideration which is intimated in the figures just presented, viz., that the natural field for the colored race is, not strictly, indeed, yet still virtually, circumscribed by climate and industrial conditions. Now, there is much reason to believe that a race that is limited in its range becomes, by that very fact, subject also to important restrictions upon its capabilities of sustained increase within that range. If the growth of the colored race is hereafter to take place mainly within the cotton belt, it is safe to say that it will never reach fifty millions, or a third of that number. I would not presume to say that the evidence which has been offered as to the tendency of the colored people toward concentration within the region referred to is conclusive; but I entertain a strong conviction that the further course of our population will exhibit that tendency in continually growing force; that this element will be more and more drained off from the higher and colder lands into the low, hot regions bordering the Gulf of Mexico.

That in these regions the negro finds his most favorable

habitat and environment does not require physiological proof. He is here, in the highest sense, at home. The malarial diseases, so destructive to Europeans in this climate and on this soil, have little power over him. At the same time, the industrial *raison d'être* of the negro is here found at its maximum. In the Northern States that *raison d'être* wholly disappears. There is nothing here, aside from a few kinds of personal service, which the negro can do, which the white man cannot do as well, or perhaps better. Even upon the high lands of the old slave States, in the upper parts of Alabama or Georgia, for instance, or in the mountain districts of Tennessee and North Carolina, there is little which the negro can do which the white man cannot do equally well. Nay, in the upland cultivation of the cotton crop, I entertain the conviction that the vigorous, resolute white element, free from the incubus of human slavery, will more and more assert itself, large plantations being subdivided into small cotton farms.

If the foregoing views are approximately correct, the relative decline of the colored population throughout the United States, except in the cotton belt, will be due partly to the more rapid growth of the white element; partly to migration southward from Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and North Carolina, under urgent calls for additional labor in the cotton fields, such as have been so clamorously made during the past few months ; partly to the high rate of mortality prevailing among negroes in northern latitudes and even in southern cities.

To illustrate the last point I will take twenty-three counties in the South, containing cities and large towns, and having an aggregate population, according to the Tenth Census, of nearly 600,000 whites and almost exactly as many negroes. In these counties, while the birth-rates per 1,000 of living population were for the whites 28.71, and for the colored 35.08, the proportion of those born and dying in the census year, per 1,000 births, was, for the whites, 100.1, and for the colored, 140.08. If, however, we look to the very large cities alone for the statistics of mortality, we find the disproportion between the death-rate among the whites and

the death-rate among the colored much exaggerated, to the disadvantage of the latter. Thus, in New Orleans, in the census year 1889–90, the deaths per 1,000 of the living population were for the whites 25.57, and for the blacks 36. In Baltimore the corresponding death-rate was for the whites 22.63, for the colored 36.39. In St. Louis the death-rate was for the whites 18.19, for the colored 33.78. In Washington (including in this term the whole of the District of Columbia) the corresponding rates were for the whites 19.84, for the colored 38.1. We have not as yet the statistics of mortality for Louisville, Richmond, and Charleston, but in 1880 the proportion of deaths among the two elements of population in these cities was as follows:

Cities.	Deaths per 1,000 of Living Population.	
	White.	Colored.
Louisville	20.04	34.76
Richmond	19.12	31.97
Charleston	23.78	45.00

It will be seen from the foregoing data that the colored population of the United States is at the present time maintaining its relatively slight rate of increase only by means of a very high birth-rate, just a little in excess of a very high death-rate. This is a very critical situation, since anything which may occur to reduce the birth-rate will have no tendency whatever to reduce the death-rate. Indeed, in the case of an untrained and ill-developed race, any cause, whether the diminution of marriages or persistence in criminal practices, which diminishes the birth-rate, is more than likely to accelerate the death-rate. Hence we may say that wherever the industrial *raison d'être* of the colored man, distinguished as an economic agent from the white, shall diminish in any part of the country, this is not unlikely to be followed by a decline in this element more rapid than would occur in the case of another element of the population which had been

running along on a lower birth-rate but with also a lower death-rate.

1. It is estimated that the slave-trade has, first and last, taken from Africa 40,000,000 of her people. How many of these contributed to the present negro population of the United States? The usual estimates of the importation of black slaves into the British Colonies prior to 1776 make the total number 200,000. The survivors and the descendants of these were computed to amount, at that date, to about 550,000. These estimates are, however, very rudely made. Even after the establishment of the present form of government and the inauguration of the series of national censuses we find Dr. Seybert lamenting that so little attention was paid to the blacks in the enumeration, on account of their being regarded solely as a species of property, without any consideration of the various sociological interests concerned with the facts of their numbers or their condition.

The occurrence of the Revolutionary war caused great disturbances among the colored people of the insurrectionary States, especially at the South. As the contending armies dragged their trains and camps alternately over the face of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, great numbers of slaves accompanied Tory masters, as these became refugees; great numbers deserted patriot masters for the more luxurious service of British officers, or to become camp-followers of the redcoats. So much is known. It is also to be conjectured, almost with certainty, that the rate of mortality among this portion of the population was considerably increased through the hardships of the protracted war, and that the importation of slaves was somewhat checked by the condition of things existing between 1775 and 1783.

It was this depletion of the normal supply of slave labor through the effects of war which gave weight to the demands of the representatives of the planting States, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, that their communities should be allowed a moderate period in which to replenish the slave markets before all further importations should be cut off by Constitutional inhibition. They argued that their labor system had been inherited by them; that, it being what it was, their constituents were suffering from losses (of this species of property) which had been brought upon them by their devotion to the common cause of all the States—independence of Great Britain—and that they should not be punished for their patriotic endeavors.

It was in consequence of representations like these that the Constitution of 1787 was made to contain a provision that the power of Congress over commerce with foreign nations should not be exercised to prohibit the importation of slaves prior to 1808, twenty years, that is, from the year in which it was anticipated the Constitution would be ratified. —From *Statistics of the Colored Race in the United States*, in *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, vol. 2 (1890), p. 91.

2. The admission of Louisiana brought in nearly 50,000 colored persons, of whom six sevenths were slaves.

One cause of the increase in the colored population of 1810 over 1800 had been the stimulation of the slave-trade, due to the near approach of that date on which, to the honor of the American name, it became a thing forever after prohibited,—a felony, and, by statutory definition, piracy.

I have tried in vain to secure reliable information regarding the importation of slaves, under the permission of the Constitution, between 1790 and 1808. Mr. H. C. Carey, in his work *A History of the Slave Trade*, puts the number at 90,000; but I have been unable to ascertain that Mr. Carey had sufficient data for the construction of more than a highly conjectural estimate. The only positive source of knowledge appears to be the customs records of the port of Charleston, S. C.—*Ditto*, p. 93.

ADDRESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE

Bulletin de L'Institut International de Statistique, TOME 8 (1895), PP. XXXVI-XXXIX

The following address was delivered on taking the chair as Président-Adjoint at the opening session of the International Statistical Institute, held in Chicago, September 11, 1893.

ADDRESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE.

I HAVE the honor, on behalf of the American Statistical Association, to welcome to the United States the International Statistical Institute. The Institute might have chosen for the place of its fourth biennial meeting a country more distinguished for statistical research and investigation. It could not have found any country in which the work of the statistician is held in greater honor, or in which a more hearty readiness is manifested to promote in all possible ways such research and investigation. The Institute might, perhaps, have chosen for this meeting a country in which it could have got more good to itself. It could not have found one in which it could have done more good by its presence and its conferences, because the science of statistics in the United States has long enjoyed the interest and devotion of our people in an exceptionally high degree. What it has needed and painfully lacked in the past has been just such instruction and inspiration as are to be gathered by our native statisticians,—few of whom have had the advantage of residence and study abroad,—from this assemblage of the great masters of statistics, coming from countries in which the universities train men for this profession; in which the civil service gives place and rank, and recognition and promotion, to those who have distinguished themselves in that profession; in which both legislation and administration freely acknowledge their obligation to consider and to defer to the results of statistical inquiry.

I have said that statistics have always received much honor in this country. Indeed, a well-known writer, M. Moreau de Jonnès, has said that the United States presents a phenomenon without a parallel in history—"that of a people who

instituted the statistics of their country on the very day when they founded their government, and who regulated by the same instrument the census of their inhabitants, their civil and political rights, and the destinies of their nation." Such praise is pleasant, but it is hardly deserved. As a matter of history, the provision of a national census was incorporated in the Constitution from political, and not from philosophical considerations. The census in the United States was a political necessity. To this, and not to a popular appreciation of the claims of statistical science, is due the fact that the systematic, periodical enumeration of inhabitants was here undertaken, even earlier than in England itself. Had the government, set up in 1787, been a pure confederation like that which preceded it, into which the States entered as equal bodies, the census would not have been a condition of its existence. Estimates, founded on the number of the enrolled militia, the number of houses, or the record of births and deaths, might long have sufficed for all legislative and administrative purposes. On the other hand, had the Constitution of 1787 erected a single, self-sufficient government, a simple sovereignty, the census need not have been provided for in that instrument. Representative power might have been apportioned approximately, according to common fame, or numbers might have been rejected as the measure of political representation, as in the England of that day.

But the mixed form of government established by that Constitution,—the only form of government which was then practicable, under which the preexisting States maintained their right to exist and to act for themselves in all strictly local affairs, while for national purposes power was to be exercised according to a double rule, partly through the States acting as equal bodies, and partly according to population irrespective of State lines,—positively required, not as a means to administrative efficiency, but as an essential condition of its own existence, that the inhabitants of the United States should be periodically enumerated. Accordingly, we find in the Constitution of 1787, the provision for a census to be taken regularly every ten years.

But while, thus, we cannot honestly accept the whole meas-

ure of the praise accorded by M. Moreau de Jonnès, it is still true that a strong passion for statistics, especially those relating to industry and finance, early developed itself in the life of our people. Statesmen and publicists, like Alexander Hamilton, Peletiah Webster, Elkanah Watson, Tench Coxe, Seybert, and Pitkin, not only founded their theories of economics and taxation inductively, by the use of the best statistical data available, but exerted their powers to extend the field of exact knowledge and became working statisticians, so far as their imperfect training and the inadequate agencies at their command would allow. The census itself, as the only means of obtaining information relating to all parts of the country, and to all interests of the people, was soon seized upon, in the general zeal of the nation for statistics, and was made a beast of burden upon which was piled one inquiry after another for the sake of obtaining information on every subject which could concern the legislator, the administrator, the economist, or the social philosopher. In this remarkable, and, it must be admitted, not altogether fortunate, extension of the scope of the census, the people of all classes and of all sections responded to the demands of the Federal law, with a truly extraordinary and admirable spirit. In their statistical efforts and exertions it can confidently be asserted that the United States have always meant well. No government in the world has ever lavished money and labor more generously upon statistical inquiry; nor has any people ever responded more cheerfully and patiently in this respect. As superintendent of two successive censuses of the United States, I can bear testimony, not merely to the absence of all hostility, jealousy, or suspicion on the part of the masses of the people toward the agents of the enumeration, but to the existence of a high and fine public spirit which has done everything to facilitate the work of the officials concerned, and which has even prompted to the offering of information and suggestions which were far beyond the strict requirements of the law, and which have done much to improve the value of the statistics obtained. On the other hand, the merchants and the manufacturers of the United States have always been ready to recognize the fact

that the census was undertaken in the general interest, with no purpose of private inquisition, and have opened their books to the officers of the law with a noble confidence which I am happy to say has never in a single instance, so far as my knowledge extends, been abused. Therefore, I repeat, we of the United States can at least claim for our statistics that in the matter of good intentions, whether we consider the liberality of the government, the zeal of our working statisticians, or the public spirit of our people, no nation has more to boast of.

The defects of American statistics are chiefly due to two sets of causes. First, the vast extent of our territory, and the fact that great portions of it have, at each stage of our national progress, been sparsely settled or altogether uninhabited, while within the inhabited territory, there has been a rapid growth both of population and industry, accompanied by frequent and violent fluctuations. Second, the total neglect, until within a comparatively few years, of statistics as a branch of study in our colleges and universities; the lack of an organized civil service, which should give the professional statistician a proper career; the federal character of our government, which sacrifices homogeneity in laws and institutions, especially in those which relate to registration of births, marriages, and deaths, to criminal records, to the care of paupers, and the provision for the several afflicted classes of the community; namely, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane, and the idiotic. Fortunately, in all these respects progress is steadily making towards conditions which promote the gathering of uniform and trustworthy statistics. Industry and trade are every year becoming more steady and responsible; the outlines of the country are being rapidly filled up by settlements which have a more permanent and constant character; the several States are nullifying their laws and institutions as the result of a careful study of social experiences; the civil service of the United States has been reformed to a degree which now offers far more security to the career of the professional statistician; our colleges and universities are adopting courses in statistics, as furnishing

the true basis for all historical and economic investigation; the work of our American Economic Association, though as yet only eight years old, and of the American Statistical Association, which boasts of nearly half a century, is not only awakening and enlightening public interest, but is powerfully moulding the forms of official records and the bookkeeping of railroads, insurance companies, and banks; most of all, our national and State statistical bureaus are opening in every direction new avenues of information, are improving the methods of collecting statistics, and are learning to correct the crudities of the material brought into their offices. All these things combine to promise much for American statistics. As a veteran retired from service, I cherish the brightest hopes regarding the future of this great department of human effort in the United States, and I entertain strong confidence that this visit of the International Statistical Institute to our shores in this great jubilee year of the New World will have both an immediate and an abiding influence upon the profession here.

REMARKS AT WASHINGTON

Publications of the American Statistical Association, VOL. 5 (1897), PP. 180–87

The following remarks were made by Mr. Walker at a meeting of the Washington members of the American Statistical Association held in the assembly room of the Cosmos Club, Washington, on the evening of December 31, 1896. The remarks were informal, and there was no opportunity for the speaker to revise the report taken by a stenographer. The remarks are of interest, not only for their content, but also as constituting the last public utterance of Mr. Walker.

REMARKS AT WASHINGTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has given me very great pleasure to come on from Boston to attend this first meeting in Washington of the American Statistical Association, to bring the greetings of the Association to the Washington members, and to express the hope and the expectation of the Association that this new departure of holding scientific meetings in this city will result in a very great advantage not only to the Washington members themselves, in their discussions and conferences in regard to matters of great interest, but also to the Association as a whole, and to the country, one of whose important interests it is to promote the cause of sound and reliable statistics.

It is a very curious fact that the American people, with whom the interest in facts and data of an authoritative character is greater than anywhere else in the world, and who are intensely and passionately devoted to statistics—it is a curious fact that the American people have never done anything as a nation, and little in their individual capacity, to promote the cultivation of statistics.

The United States have spent millions and tens of millions upon the collection, compilation, and publication of statistics, and yet they have never spent, perhaps, $10,000—certainly the government has never spent anything—in training and preparing the men who should conduct the statistical service of the country. It is a very striking fact, if you think of it. We have an army, and we have a military academy to prepare men to conduct the military science in war and in peace; we have a navy, and we have a naval academy to prepare men to conduct the service of the navy in war and in peace; and the budgets of the military and the naval academy form no inconsiderable feature of the annual appropriations for these two services.

Now, if our government and our people had said they did not care about statistics, and would pay nothing for them—did not care to be troubled with quantitative statements in regard to population, wealth, industry, and vitality of the people—it would have been intelligent and consistent; but when one considers the enormous sums that have been spent in this country for statistics—the millions every ten years for the decennial census, and the million or so every year for statistical service in other departments of the government—it certainly seems very unwise that the government has never done anything to train men who should conduct these services. I do not believe that it is at all an exaggeration of the fact to say that if one per cent of what the United States government had spent upon statistics had been devoted to the training and preparation of men to conduct our statistical service, it would have saved at least a third of the cost of all the statistics collected in the past, and would have enhanced and improved the quality of the results almost indefinitely. In the lack of such training we have always suffered great impairment of the validity, accuracy, and comparability of our public statistics—national, State, and municipal; and we have encountered expenses that were heaped up by reason of the fact that the work was in the hands of those who necessarily were ignorant of the elementary principles attending the collection and compilation of statistics and the administration of statistical service. It seems a very strange thing indeed.

Our statistical work, national, State, and municipal, has fallen into the hands, almost without exception, so far as my limited knowledge extends, of men of intelligence, with perhaps a very deep interest in their subject—certainly men of fidelity, conscientiousness, and zeal without measure—but men who have had not only no training in statistical methods and in statistical administration, but have also lacked that elementary knowledge of the subject which was necessary to save them from making great errors of judgment, and sometimes monstrous errors in their conclusions.

I do not know of a single man now holding, or who has ever held, a position in this country as the head of a statis-

tical bureau, or as chief of a statistical service, or as a statistician, who had any elementary training for his work. All those who have had anything to do with American statistics came into the service comparatively late in life, without any elementary training, sometimes taking up the most gigantic piece of work, the service even extending over this entire country, with its twenty, thirty, fifty, seventy millions of people, and two or three millions of square miles, simply with an interest in the subject as the only guarantee of their competency for the service. Now, it certainly does not seem wise. I have no doubt that an enormous loss of resources and a very great impairment of our statistics have resulted; and it is all the more to be regretted, and all the more a matter of surprise, if one may use the expression regarding what happened so long ago and has so long continued, that a people who are willing to pay anything for statistics; whose public men and whose writers on financial, economic, and sociological topics desire first and foremost to have quantitative statements at their command; whose newspapers revel in statistics, even though their readers cannot read the tables either up or down—I say it is all the more a matter of surprise that such a people should permit this service to be carried on habitually by those who have no training for the work. And as if to render it impossible that this service should improve from time to time, as if to prevent the results of experience from being enjoyed in later years, our legislators have provided that at the conclusion of every census—and only with this single branch of our work —the service shall be broken up, the army shall be disbanded, the *personnel* shall be scattered, leaving us at the beginning of another national enumeration in the position of a country like our own in 1861, which was called upon to raise, and equip, and organize, and put into the field a great army of raw volunteers. Thus it is that from one census to another it has been impossible to retain in the government service, or, at any rate, to secure for that particular branch of the government service, men who at the beginning of another census might officer the affairs.

Now, while our government has been thus delinquent—if

I may venture as a humble citizen to use the expression—in this matter, strangely enough our colleges and universities have done almost nothing in the direction which was of so very great importance. It is only within a comparatively short period, as you know, that our colleges and universities have given any serious attention to political science, history, and economics; and it is only within a very short time that the word "statistics" has been used in connection with any professorial chair or any department of instruction in any American college. Our American colleges began teaching history, which has its basis in statistics, without recognizing statistics in their curriculum. They began to teach economics,—which, if it is to be sound, should be founded upon statistics,—without teaching statistics or even recognizing it in their curriculum.

But whatever has been done in the course of our history toward promoting the study of statistics as a science, to prepare for the statistical service of the government, by far the greater part has been done by the American Statistical Association, whose first meeting in Washington is to be held here this evening.

About fifty-six years ago, Dr. Edward Jarvis, a learned physician of Dorchester, now a part of the city of Boston, called around him a few faithful souls and organized the American Satatistical Association, of which he remained the president and the active spirit for thirty-three or thirty-four years. Dr. Jarvis was a man who, in Europe, with his knowledge of the subject and his interest in it, would have been a councillor of state and would have had the recognition which others have had who worked as he did under such great disadvantage. The Association never had any funds. Now and then the treasurer sent bills to members for their small fees toward the expenses of a hall or of a meeting, and although the meetings for a generation met with no encouragement or without a single sign of deep interest, the Association was maintained. The fire was kept burning on the altar and the flag was kept waving in the air. At least there should be an American Statistical Association; at least it was the determination of those gentlemen, almost all of

them men of the most limited means and resources for carrying on such work, that it should be known that there was a body of men in the United States devoted to the cultivation of statistical science. Not only so, but the Association, and Dr. Jarvis especially, who represented the Association, had a great deal to do with successive enumerations of the United States.

In 1850, and again in 1860, the American Statistical Association memorialized Congress, and conferred with officers appointed by the government, for the purpose of formulating the schedules of inquiry and promoting the success of the administration. Dr. Jarvis did a great deal in shaping the schedules of 1850, and again in 1860. And at one of those censuses he was very actively engaged for some years in connection with the statistics of mortality and the statistics of the unfortunate classes, particularly the insane. That work was most important work. It had a great deal to do with the development of the American census from its crude, immature form into the shape it now has. In 1870 again Dr. Jarvis, though then in very advanced years, showed his interest and did whatever was in his power to promote the work of the census.

After Dr. Jarvis' lamented death the American Statistical Association took a forward step. It determined that it would cease to be, as it always had been, a local association. Its membership was enlarged, until it now numbers many hundreds, comprising men of the highest distinction in, I presume, twenty of the States of the Union, and in most of our important cities. With such an enlarged membership the management, though still destitute of great endowments, determined to undertake the publication of a quarterly journal, which, I do not hesitate to say, is entitled to credit in holding most closely to its purpose in giving purely statistical information; in avoiding all financial and economic and sociological discussions; in confining itself to the formulation of statistical schedules and presenting statistical information from every country. We have also great reason to believe that it has done much to promote the study of sta-

tistics in colleges and in universities, and that its work in the future will be even greater and more fruitful.

At the last meeting of the American Statistical Association it was determined to invite and empower the members of the Association residing in and about the city of Washington to hold scientific meetings in Washington as a part of the regular proceedings of the Association. It was felt that this must have a great influence: first, in promoting the discussion of statistical methods, statistical results, and statistical principles among the members here, who constitute so large and important a part of the membership of the Association; second, that it must strengthen the Association itself throughout its whole body, to have such an example of vital interest in so great a work exhibited here, and to have such discussions and conferences going on in an important centre of population. But it was felt that the result of the greatest importance which could be anticipated from this new enterprise, was the establishment of a better, more distinct, and sympathetic relationship between those who are here in Washington, making the statistics of the country—producing them, if I may use that expression—and the consumers throughout the land, writers in economics and finance, editors of newspapers, writers for magazines, and professors in colleges, who are using or consuming them. It is felt that such a relationship cannot fail to be of very great value. You know how it is with the newspaper editor, with the magazine writer, with the teacher of economics, sociology, or finance, in the college or the university. He takes the statistics which are given to him as if they were written upon a table of stone and brought down from some cloud-capped mountain. He does not discuss them, he does not question them, and, as he has not been behind the scenes himself, and has had nothing to do with getting up statistics, he takes them as data, which, if I have not forgotten my forty-years-old Latin, means "things given," and given of grace, and so he uses them without discrimination, without question,—fortunate if he use them without any mental doubt or hesitation.

Now, what we want is that the statisticians of the United States government, and those who are closely connected with

government service here in Washington, and have to do with the making of statistics, shall be in intimate relations with those who are to use them; that they shall be able to say, without any feeling of disparaging their profession, or of slurring their own work, "*These* statistics should be shaded;" "*these* may be regarded as accurate within the limits of any use to which they may be put;" "*these* are put forward simply as the best thing we could get." Now, that has not been the tone of official statistics. Of course, some government officers have had the honesty and the brutal frankness to say that sort of thing, but in general the feeling of the public official is that he must not query his own figures; that he must not express, at least in more than a very mild intimation, his own doubts or hesitations. It is natural; it is characteristic of the public official; in a certain sense it is his duty, just as it is the duty of any one of us to stand up for his own city, or his own church, or his own college, or his own anything with which he is connected, with a certain degree of self-assertion. On the other hand, it is desirable that the men who use statistics throughout the country, the consumers of statistics, as I have called them, shall have such knowledge, and such correspondence with the men who prepare the statistics for their use, that they shall feel at liberty and be in condition to get the most genuine feeling and impression and conviction of the statistician himself in regard to the degree of error which may exist, or in regard to the conditions and qualifications under which the official statistics may be safely used.

We all know, at least those of us who have had anything to do with statistics, that there is a wide range in that respect. It is important that the official statistician be encouraged to give the user of statistics those (as we say) "tips" on the market, suggestions of hesitation or doubt of a possible limitation or qualification, or perhaps of extensive limitation or qualification. It is desirable that the persons who are to use statistics—and every writer of history, economics, or sociology must use statistics—should be taught to observe the limitation necessarily imposed upon the validity and authority of the figures they use, and be encouraged

by association, by correspondence, and by acquaintance, through a body like the American Statistical Association, to confer freely together.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is with these feelings and thoughts that I came on here from Boston, as one who has been intrusted for some years with the presidency of the American Statistical Association, to express the very great gratification we all feel that this series of meetings is to be held in Washington; to offer our heartiest support and sympathy and cooperation in your work here; and to wish the Washington members of the Association the greatest possible success. The meetings of the Association will be presided over, so far as he is able to attend to that duty, by one of the Washington members, who is a member of the International Statistical Institute, the head of the United States Department of Labor; and, I am happy to add, a man bred in Massachusetts, and who first acquired his reputation for absolute integrity of statistical work and for mastery of statistical methods, in our good Commonwealth. I have great pleasure in surrendering the chair to Colonel Wright.

NATIONAL GROWTH

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

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AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

It is proposed in this paper to take a general view of the characteristics of American agriculture. Ever since the revolt of the British colonies nullified the royal prohibition of the settlement of the Ohio valley, the frontier line of our population has been moving steadily westward, passing over one, two, and even three degrees of longitude in a decade, until now it rests at the base of the Rocky Mountains. The report of the Public Land Commission to Congress, just issued from the press, states that the amount of arable lands still remaining subject to occupation under the Homestead and Preemption Acts is barely sufficient to meet the demands of settlers for a year or two to come. This would seem a fitting point from which to review the course of American agriculture through the last hundred years; to inquire what have been its methods and what it has accomplished.

The subject may be treated under the following titles:

1. As to the tenure of the soil.
2. As to character of the cultivators as a class.
3. As to the freedom and fulness of experiment upon the relations of crops to climate and to local soils.
4. As to what has been done biologically to promote our agriculture.
5. As to what has been done mechanically.
6. As to what has been done chemically. Under this title we shall have occasion to explain the westward movement of the field of cultivation of wheat and corn, and the southwestward movement of the cotton culture.

First. The tenure of land in the United States is highly popular. Throughout the Northern and Western States this has always been so. The result has not been wholly due, as

one is apt to think, to the existence of vast tracts of unoccupied land "at the West," whatever that phrase may at the time have meant—whether Western New York in 1810, or Ohio in 1830, or Iowa in 1850, or Dakota in 1880. An aristocratic holding of land in New England would have been quite as consistent with a great breadth of free lands across the Missouri, as is such a holding of land in England consistent with the existence of boundless fertile tracts in Canada and Australia under the laws of the same empire.

The result in the United States has been due partly to the fact just noted, combined with the liberal policy of the government relative to the public domain; partly to excellent laws for the registration of titles and the transfer of real property in nearly every State of the Union; and partly to the genius of our people, their readiness to buy or to sell, to go east or to go west, as a profit may appear. But while we have thus enjoyed a highly popular tenure of the soil, this has not been obtained by the force of laws compelling the subdivision of estates, as in France, under the law of "partible succession"; * nor has it been carried so far as to create a dull uniformity of petty holdings. If, as Professor Roscher remarks, "a mingling of large, medium, and small properties, in which those of medium size predominate, is the most wholesome of political and economical organizations," the United States may claim to have the most favorable tenure of the soil among all the nations of earth. We have millions of farms just large enough to employ profitably the labor of the proprietor and his growing sons; while we have, also, multitudes of considerable estates upon which labor and moneyed capital, live stock and improved machinery, are employed under skilled direction; and we have, lastly, those vast farms, the wonder of the world, in Illinois and California, where 1000 or 5000 acres are sown as one field of wheat

* A strong reaction is manifest in France against the requirement of the code that all estates must, at the death of the proprietor, be equally divided among all the children. It is objected to as causing the subdivision of the land into patches too small for profitable cultivation, and as breaking up commercial and manufacturing establishments, rendering it a rare thing that a son should succeed his father in his business.

or corn, or as on the Dalrymple farms in Dakota, where a brigade of six-horse mowers go, twenty abreast, to cut the grain that waves before the eye almost to the horizon.

Whereas in France the number of estates is almost equal to the number of families engaged in agricultural pursuits, the number of separate farms with us is somewhat less than one half the number of persons actually engaged in agriculture, there being, on the average, perhaps 210 to 220 workers to each 100 farms.

At the South the institution of slavery, with the organization of labor and the social ideas carried along by slavery, generated and maintained a comparatively aristocratic tenure of the soil. The abolition of slavery, accomplished as it was by the violence of war, has not only created a new class desirous of acquiring land, but, by impoverishing the former masters, has brought no small proportion of the old plantations into the market, with the result that farms have been rapidly multiplied in this section. Since 1870 the number of farms in thirteen of the late slave States for which I have the statistics has increased 65 per cent ; and this movement towards the subdivision of the large plantations is likely, in the absence of capital, to carry on extensive operations, to continue until the tenure of the soil shall be relatively even more popular than at the North. Mr. Edward Atkinson, an authority on the subject, holds that this minute subdivision of land will be peculiarly favorable to the cultivation of cotton.

Of the 3,800,000 farms, approximately, into which the cultivated area of the United States is divided, 60 or even 70 per cent are cultivated by their owners. In the Northern States the proportion rises to 80 per cent or even higher. Connecticut, Maine, and Massachusetts, of the New England States, and Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, of the Northwestern States, show an excess of 90 per cent. The rent of leased farms in New England is in a large majority of cases paid in money. In all other sections of the country, rents are generally stipulated to be paid in some definite share of the produce, the proportion in many of the Southern and Western States being three, four, or five farms

rented for shares of the produce, to one for which a money rent is paid.

Second. Of the character of the cultivators of the soil in the United States it will not be necessary to speak at length. Confining our view to the country north of the Potomac and the Ohio, we say that, unlike the cultivators in any country of Europe except Switzerland, and perhaps Scotland, they have at no stage of our history constituted a peasantry in any proper sense of the term. The actual cultivators of the soil here have been the same kind of men precisely as those who filled the professions or were engaged in commercial and mechanical pursuits. Of two sons of the same mother, one became a lawyer, perhaps a judge, or went down to the city and became a merchant, or gave himself to political affairs and became a governor, or a member of Congress; the other stayed upon the ancestral homestead, or made a new one for himself and his children out of the public domain farther west, remaining through his life a plain, hard-working farmer.

Now this condition of things has made American to differ from European agriculture by a very wide interval. There is no other considerable country in the world where equal mental activity and alertness have been applied to the cultivation of the soil as to trade and so-called industry.

We have the less occasion to dwell now upon this theme, because we shall be called to note, under several heads following, striking illustrations of the effects of this cause in promoting the success of American agriculture.

And while the character of the native cultivators of the soil has been such as described, those who have come to us from foreign countries have caught the time and step and the spirit of the national movement with wonderful ease. As recruits received into an old regiment, with veterans behind, before, and on either side, with examples everywhere of the right way of doing things, and breathing an atmosphere surcharged with soldierly instincts, are soon scarcely to be distinguished from the heroes of ten campaigns, so the Germans, the Scandinavians, and, though in a less degree, the Irish and French Canadians, who have

made their homes where they are surrounded by the native agriculturists, have become in a short time almost as good Yankees, if not too near the frontier of settlement, as if they had been born upon the hills of Vermont.

While the cultivating class at the North has been as thus hastily characterized, at the South the soil was, until the War of the Rebellion, tilled by a race of blacks degraded and brutalized so far as is implied in a system of chattel slavery. Upon the fruits of their labor the master lived, either in luxury or in squalor, according to the number of those whose unpaid services he could command. The great majority of the slave-holding class lived far more meanly than ordinary mechanics at the North, or even than the common day-laborers among us.

Of the 384,000 slaveholders of 1860, 20 per cent owned but one slave each; 21 per cent more owned but two or three; those who owned five slaves or fewer comprised 55 per cent of the entire number; while 72 per cent had less than ten slaves, including men, women, and children. To the vast majority of this class, slavery meant, simply and solely, shirking work; and to enjoy this blessed privilege they were content to live in miserable huts, eat the coarsest food, and wear their butternut-colored homespun. The slave worked just as little as he could, and just as poorly as he dared; ate everything on which he could lay his hands without having the lash laid on his back; and wasted and spoiled on every side, not from a malicious intention, but because he was ignorant, clumsy, and stupid, or at least stupefied. The master lived upon whatever he could wrest from laborers of this class. Of the planters with seven cabins or families of slaves, averaging five each, including house servants, aged invalids, and children, Mr. Fred Law Olmstead, in his work on *The Cotton Kingdom*, estimated the income "to be hardly more than that of a private of the New York metropolitan police force." Yet there were only about 20,000 slaveholders in 1860 who held slaves in excess of this number. Of these, two or three thousand lived in something like state and splendor.

What the industrial outcome of the abolition of slavery

will be is yet too early to decide; but we already know that we are past the danger of "a second Jamaica," of which we had once a reasonable fear. The blacks are already, under the impulse of their own wants, working better than they did beneath the lash, and those wants are likely to increase in number and intensity.

As to the poor whites of the South, I am disposed to believe that they are preparing for us a great surprise. We have been accustomed to think of them as brutalized by slavery till they had become lazy, worthless, and vicious. Perhaps we shall find that the poor whites have been suppressed rather than degraded, and that beneath the hunting-fishing-lounging habit which slavery generated and maintained lies a native shrewdness almost passing Yankee wit, an indomitable pluck, such as has made the fights of Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg memorable forever in the history of mankind, and an energy which, when turned from horse-races, street-fights, cocking-mains, hunting and fishing, to breaking up the ground, felling the forest, running the mill, exploiting the mine, and driving trade, may yet realize all the possibilities of that fair land.

Third. To ascertain what are the adaptations of any piece of ground to the cultivation of any single crop, and what variety and order of crops will best bring out the capabilities of soil and climate in the production of wealth, may seem a simple thing, but it is not. It is so far from being a simple thing, that a race of men, not barbarous, but, as we call them, civilized, may inhabit a region for an indefinite period and this thing not be done at all. Such may be the lack of enterprise, such the force of tradition, that crops may be cultivated from generation to generation, and from century to century, while yet the question has never been fairly determined whether the agriculture of the district might not advantageously be re-enforced, and the soil be relieved, by the introduction of new crops, or even by throwing out the traditionary crops altogether.

Gonzales, in his *Voyage to England and Scotland* (1730), wrote: "And my tutor told me that a good author of their own made this remark of Wiltshire, 'that an ox left to himself

would, of all England, choose to live in the north of this county, a sheep in the south part of it, and a man in the middle between both; as partaking of the pleasure of the plain, and the plenty of the deep country.' " The remark does not exaggerate the nicety of those distinctions which determine the range of the profitable cultivation, whether of an animal or a vegetable species. A certain rough canvass of the agricultural capabilities of any district is easily made, and a process of elimination early takes place by which certain crops are discarded, for once and for all, as hopeless. But among the great variety of crops which may be cultivated in any region, justly to discriminate between the good and the very good, and to reject those which, though within the "limit of tolerance," as the money-writers say, are yet on the whole and in the long run, not profitable, demands long, careful, and elaborate experimentation. Beyond this is the selection of varieties within the retained species, in which alone may reside the possibilities of success or failure; the fortunate choice of varieties, among the almost indefinite number, often making all the difference between profit and no profit.

To do this work satisfactorily requires great mental enterprise and what we may call curiosity, a natural delight in experimentation, a ready apprehension combined with persistency, in due measure, and with a sound judgment. To do this work both well and quickly, being neither slow in testing new and promising subjects, nor easily discouraged by the accidents which beset initiation and experiment, nor yet reluctant in drawing the proper inference from failure, would tax the intellectual powers of any race of men.

In Europe the knowledge of soils and of climate, on which the cultivation of large estates or personal properties is based, is the accumulation of hundreds of years of experience. In the United States the course of settlement has called upon our people to occupy virgin territory as extensive as Switzerland, as England, as Italy, and latterly as France or Germany, every ten years. And it has been in meeting the necessity of a rapid, rough-and-ready reconnoissance of new soils under varying climatic conditions that the character of

our cultivating class, as indicated under the previous title, has come most strikingly into play.

During the colonial period the work of experiment had so far advanced that every crop but one (sorghum) now recognized in the official agricultural statistics of the country was cultivated within the region east of the Alleghanies. In the long course of experiment which had resulted in the naturalization of the crops now so well known in New England, the following had, according to Professor Brewer, been tried and rejected from our agriculture, viz., hemp, indigo, rice, cotton, madder, millet, spelt, lentils, and lucern.

But while so much of the adaptations of our general climate to agriculture had been thus early mastered, much in the way of studying the agricultural capabilities of the infinite varieties of soil subject to this climate remained to be done within the region then occupied; while with every successive extension of the frontier of settlement the same work has had to be done for the new fields brought under cultivation. To say with what quick-wittedness and openness of vision, what intellectual audacity yet strong common sense, what variety of resource and facility of expedients, what persistency yet pliancy, the American farmer has met this demand of the situation, would sound like extravagant panegyric. No other agricultural population of the globe could have encountered such emergencies without suffering tenfold the degree of failure, loss, and distress which has attended the westward movement of our population during the past one hundred years.

Fourth. In asking what has been done biologically to promote American agriculture, we have reference to the application of the laws of vegetable and animal reproduction, as discovered by study and experiment, to the development of new varieties of plants and of animals, or to the perfection of individuals of existing varieties. In this department of effort the success of the American farmer has been truly wonderful, and our agriculture has profited by it in a degree which it would be difficult to overestimate. A few examples will suffice for our present occasion.

Receiving the running horse from England, we have so

improved the strain that for the two years past, notwithstanding the unlimited expenditure upon racing studs in England, notwithstanding that English national pride is so much bound up in racing successes, and notwithstanding the grave disadvantages which attend the exportation of costly animals and their trial under the conditions of a strange climate, the honors of the British turf have been gathered, in a degree almost unknown in the history of British racing, by three American horses; and while Iroquois was last summer winning his unprecedented series of victories, two, if not three, American three-year-olds, generally believed to be better than Iroquois, were contesting the primacy at home.

The trotting-horse we have created—certainly the most useful variety of the equine species—and we have improved that variety in a degree unprecedented, I believe, in natural history. Two generations ago the trotting of a mile in 2 min. 40 sec. was so rare as to give rise to a proverbial phrase indicating something extraordinary; it is now a common occurrence. "But a few years ago," wrote Professor Brewer in 1876, "the speed of a mile in 2.30 was unheard of; now perhaps five or six hundred horses are known to have trotted a mile in that time." The number is to-day perhaps nearer one thousand than five hundred. Steadily onward have American horse-raisers pressed the limit of mile speed, till, within the last three seasons, the amazing figures 2.10 have been reached by one trotter and closely approached by another.

Take an even more surprising instance. About 1800 we began to import in considerable numbers the favorite English cattle, the short-horn. The first American short-horn herd-book was published in 1846. In 1873 a sale of short-horn cattle took place in Western New York, at which a herd of 109 head were sold for a total sum of $382,000, one animal, a cow, bringing $40,600; another, a calf five months old, $27,000, both for the English market. To-day Devons and short-horns are freely exported from New York and Boston to England to improve the native stock.

In 1793 the first merino sheep, three in number, were introduced into this country, though, unfortunately, the

gentleman to whom they were consigned, not appreciating their peculiar excellencies, had them converted into mutton. Since that time American wool has become celebrated both for fineness of fibre and for weight of fleece. The finest fibre, by microscopic test, ever anywhere obtained, was clipped about 1850 from sheep bred in Western Pennsylvania. More recently the attention of our wool-growers has been especially directed to increasing the quantity rather than to improving the quality of the wool.

Illustrations of the success of American agriculture, biologically, might be drawn from the vegetable kingdom, did space permit.

Fifth. To ask what has been done mechanically to promote our agriculture is to challenge a recital of the better half of the history of American invention. Remarkable as have been the mechanical achievements of our people in the department of manufacturing industry, they have been exceeded in the production of agricultural implements and machinery, inasmuch as, in this branch of invention, a problem has been solved that does not present itself for solution, or only in a much easier shape, in those branches which relate to manufactures; the problem, namely, of combining strength and capability of endurance with great lightness of parts.

In no other important class of commercial products, except the American street carriage or field wagon, are these desired qualities so wonderfully joined as in the American agricultural machines, while the special difficulty arising from the necessity of repairs on the farm, far from shops where the services of skilled mechanics could be obtained, has been met by the extension to this branch of manufacture of the principle of interchangeable parts, a principle purely American in its origin. Through the adoption of this principle by the makers of agricultural machines, a farmer in the Willamette valley of Oregon is enabled to write to the manufacturer of his mower or reaper or thresher, naming the part that has been lost or become broken or otherwise useless, and to receive by return mail, third class, for which the government rate will be only two or three shillings, the lack-

ing part, which, with a wrench and a screw-driver, he can fit into its proper place in fifteen minutes.

All the agricultural machines of to-day are not originally of American invention, although most of them are, in every patentable feature ; but I am not aware that there is at present in extensive use one which does not owe it to American ingenuity that it can be extensively used. Without the improvements they have received here, the best of foreign inventions in this department of machinery would have remained toys for exhibition at agricultural fairs, or machines only to be employed on large estates under favorable conditions.

But more, even, than the ingenuity of inventors and manufacturers has been required to give to agricultural machinery the wide introduction and the marvellously successful applications it has had in the cultivation of our staple crops east and west. "Experienced mechanicians," says Professor Hearn, "assert that, notwithstanding the progress of machinery in agriculture, there is probably as much sound practical, labor-saving invention and machinery unused as there is used ; and that it is unused solely in consequence of the ignorance and incompetency of the work people." This remark, which is perfectly true of England, and the force of which would have to be multiplied fourfold in application to the peasantry of France or Austria, utterly fails of significance if applied to the United States. It is because mechanical insight and aptitude, in the degree respecting which the term "mechanical genius," may properly be used, are found throughout the mass of American people, that these products of invention and skill have been made of service on petty farms all over our land, and in the most remote districts wherever the divine rage of the pedler has carried him. Lack of mechanical insight and aptitude, in the full degree requisite for the economical use and care of delicate and complicated machinery, is almost unknown among our native Northern people. Not one in ten but has the mechanical sense and skill necessary for the purpose.

But it has not been through the invention and wide application of agricultural machinery alone that the peculiar and extraordinary genius of our people has increased our

national capacity for agricultural productions. In what we may call the daily commonplace use of this faculty, throughout what may be termed the pioneer period, and, in a diminishing degree, through each successive stage of settlement and industrial development, the American farmer has derived from this source an advantage beyond estimation in dealing with the perpetually varying exigencies of the occupation and cultivation of the soil.

Perhaps we cannot better illustrate this than by referring to a recent exhibition of our national activity in another field.

When the War of the Rebellion broke out no one supposed that the American armies, hastily raised and commanded by men tried only in civil affairs, were to give lessons to the engineers of Europe. Yet, after our war had been going on about two years, it came to be apprehended that a new force had been introduced into warfare, causing an almost total revolution in field operations. The soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies, left almost to themselves in the matter, had gradually but rapidly developed a system of field intrenchments the like of which had never been executed by any army or conceived by any engineer. Not only between night and morning, but often in the course of four or even three hours, was it found possible for infantry to cover their front with works adequate to a complete protection from musketry and from the casual fire of field-guns.

This system of intrenchment was a spontaneous, original creation on the part of many different bodies of troops. The officers who served most uninterruptedly through the campaigns of 1862 and 1863 could hardly presume to say when and where it first took distinct and recognizable shape. Those who have followed the course of military opinion in Europe and are familiar with the history of recent wars there, know how greatly the theory and practice of field operations have been changed as a result of the introduction of the American system of rapid, rough-and-ready intrenchment. The works along the Rapidan, the Pamunkey, or the Appomattox were contemptible enough, viewed as finished products, irrespective of the time expended; but in the fact that such works

could be thrown up in the interval between the arrival of the head and of the rear of a column, or in half a night, lay possibilities of almost infinite consequence to the strategist.

Now just what, in spirit, our soldiers were doing in 1863, '64, and '65, our farmers had been doing all through the pioneer period of every new State, in meeting the later and less pressing exigencies of agricultural extension and improvement. The way in which the pioneer of New England birth or blood, stopping his cattle in a wilderness, miles from any neighbor, and tumbling axe and spade, bundles and babies out upon the unbroken ground, which he was to make his home, set about the task of providing shelter for his children and his animals, clearing the ground and getting a first crop out of the soil, were not admirable merely as an exhibition of courage, faith, and enterprise; but, if we look at the results accomplished in the light of the time and labor expended, it constitutes a triumph of mechanical, we might say of engineering, genius.

The simple record of the first five years on a pioneer farm on the Western Reserve of Ohio, were it possible to set it forth in such a way that one could see that life in the wilderness lived over again, would produce upon a mind capable of appreciating the highest human achievements, a stronger impression of the intellectual power and originality of the American people than all the literature we have accumulated since Joel Barlow wrote his *Vision of Columbus*.

Sixth. When we ask what has been done chemically to promote American agriculture, we reach at once the most characteristic differences between our cultivation of the soil and that prevailing in older countries; and we have, at the same time, the explanation of the contemptuous manner in which our agriculture is almost universally spoken of by European writers. Did I say contemptuous? The word "indignant," would often better express the feeling aroused in these writers by the contemplation of our dealing with the soil, which, from their point of view, they cannot but regard as wasteful, wanton earth-butchery. "In perusing the volumes of Messrs. Parkinson, Faux, Fearon, and others," says Hinton, in his *History of the United States*, "some hun-

dred pages of invective occur, because the Americans will persist in taking up fresh land, instead of the more costly process of manuring a worn-out soil; will raise extensive crops instead of highly cultivating and beautifying a small space." *

A few British tourists, indeed, notably Professor Johnston and Sir James Caird, have shown a somewhat juster appreciation of American agriculture; but even these have given only a qualified approval of our method of dealing with the soil, and have fallen ludicrously short of the truth in attempting to fix the limit of time during which this policy could be maintained.

Johnston, one of the best writers of his time on agricultural chemistry, publishing his *Notes on North America* in 1851, expresses his belief that the exportable wheat of the continent, as a whole, was "already a diminishing quantity." In the light of to-day the following reads somewhat strangely:

> "It is fair and reasonable, therefore, I think, to conclude, until we have better data, that the wheat-exporting capabilities of the United States are not so great as they have by many in Great Britain hitherto been supposed; that they have been overstated on the spot, and that our wheat-growers at home have been unduly alarmed by these distant thunders, the supposed prelude of an imaginary torrent of American wheat, which was to overwhelm everything in Great Britain—farming, farmers, and landlords—in one common ruin." †

Undue alarm; distant thunders; supposed prelude; imaginary torrent! Nothing so good as that had been said since the profane scoffer told the son of Lamech to go along with his old ark; it wasn't going to be much of a shower, after all.

What, then, has been this American way of dealing with the soil to which our English brethren have so strongly made objection?

The American people, finding themselves on a continent containing an almost limitless breadth of arable land, of fair

* Vol. 2, p. 140.
† Vol. 2, p. 335.

average utility, having little accumulated capital and many urgent occasions for every unit of labor power they could exert, have elected—and in doing so they are, I make bold to say, fully justified, on sound economical principles—to regard the land as practically of no value, and labor as of high value ; have, in pursuance of this theory of the case, systematically cropped their fields, on the principle of obtaining the largest crops with the least expenditure of labor, limiting their improvements to what was required for the immediate purpose specified, and caring little about returning to the soil any equivalent for the properties taken from it by the crops of each successive year. What has been returned has been only the manure generated incidentally to the support of the live stock needed to work the farm. In that which is for the time the great wheat and corn region of the United States the fields are, as a rule, cropped continuously, without fertilization, year after year, decade after decade, until their fertility sensibly declines.

Decline under this regimen it must, sooner or later, according to the crop and according to degree of original strength in the soil. Resort must then be had to new fields of virgin freshness, which with us in the United States has always meant "the West." When Professor Johnston wrote, the granary of the continent had already moved from the flats of the lower St. Lawrence to the Mississippi valley, the north and south line which divided the wheat product of the United States into two equal parts being approximately the line of the 82d meridian. In 1860 it was the 85th ; in 1870, the 88th ; in 1880, the 89th.

Meanwhile what becomes of the regions over which this shadow of partial exhaustion passes, like an eclipse, in its westward movement ? The answer is to be read in the condition of New England to-day. A part of the agricultural population is maintained in raising upon limited soils the smaller crops, garden vegetables and orchard fruits, and producing butter, milk, poultry, and eggs for the supply of the cities and manufacturing towns which had their origin in the flourishing days of agriculture, which have grown with the

age of the communities in which they were planted, and which, having been well founded when the decadence of agriculture begins, flourish the more on this account, inasmuch as a second part of the agricultural population, not choosing to follow the westward movement of the grain culture, are ready with their rising sons and daughters to enter the mill and factory.

Still another part of the agricultural population gradually becomes occupied in the higher and more careful culture of the cereal crops on the better portion of the former breadth of arable land, the less eligible fields being allowed to spring up in brush and wood; deeper ploughing and better drainage are resorted to; fertilizers are now employed to bring up and to keep up the pristine fertility of the soil.

And thus begins the serious systematic agriculture of an old State. Something is done in wheat, but not much. New York raised 13,000,000 bushels in 1850; thirty years later, where her population had increased 70 per cent, she raises 13,000,000 bushels. Pennsylvania raised 15,500,000 bushels in 1850, with a population of two and a quarter millions; in 1880, with four and a half million inhabitants, she raises nineteen and a half million bushels. New Jersey raised 1,600,000 bushels then; she raises 1,900,000 now.

More is done in corn, that magnificent and most prolific cereal; more still in buckwheat, barley, oats, and rye. Pennsylvania, though the tenth State in wheat production, stands first of all the Union in rye, second in buckwheat, and third in oats; New York, the same New York whose Mohawk and Genesee valleys were a proverb through the world forty years ago, is but the thirteenth State in wheat, but is first in buckwheat, second in barley, and third in rye.

It is in the way described that Americans have dealt with the soil opened to them by treaty or by purchase. And I have no hesitation in saying that posterity will decide, first, that it was both economically justified and politically fortunate that this should be done; and, secondly, that what has been done was accomplished with singular enterprise, prudence, patience, intelligence, and skill.

It will appear, from what has been said under the preced-

ing titles, that I entertain a somewhat exalted opinion concerning American agriculture. Indeed, I do. To me the achievements of those who in this new land have dealt with the soil, under the conditions so hurriedly and imperfectly recited, surpass the achievements of mankind in any other field of economic effort. With the labor power and capital power which we have had to expend during the past one hundred years, to have taken from the ground these hundreds, these thousands of millions of tons of food, fibres, and fuel for man's uses, leaving the soil no more exhausted than we find it to-day; and, meantime, to have built up, out of the current profits of this primitive agriculture, such a stupendous fund of permanent improvements, in provision for future needs and in preparation for a more advanced industry and a higher tillage—this certainly seems to be not only beyond the achievement, but beyond the power, of any other race of men.

AMERICAN MANUFACTURES

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AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

THE history of American manufactures, in one sense, begins with the establishment of our national independence, inasmuch as prior to that time the policy of England not only discouraged, but positively prohibited, the establishment of almost all branches of manufacturing industry. In another sense, however, no small or unimportant part of the history of American manufactures lies back of the contest for independence, inasmuch as in the earlier period were developed those traits of the national genius which made our subsequent industrial career possible.

In spite of the jealous and severely repressive policy of England in dealing with her colonies and plantations, the first feeble beginnings of manufacture in New England drew down but slight animadversion.

Sir Josiah Child, the eminent writer on trade, had, even so early as 1670, apprehended the danger, as the spirit of that age deemed it, of a great ship-building industry springing up in the heavily wooded colonies along the North Atlantic shore. "Of all American plantations," he wrote, "his Majesty has none so apt for the building of shipping as New England, none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen;" and he added, "in my opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial and in prospect more dangerous to any mother country than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, or provinces."

But it was not until 1699 that the authorities at home actually interfered to prevent the development of industry, in the technical sense, in the colonies. In that year Parliament declared that no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of their American plantations should be thence shipped or

even laden in order to be transported from thence to any place whatever. In 1719 the House of Commons declared that the erecting of manufactures in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence on Great Britain. In 1731, in consequence of numerous complaints from interested persons, among whom the "Company of Hatters" in London were conspicuous, Parliament directed the Board of Trade to inquire and report with respect to laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on, detrimental to the trade, manufactures, or navigation of the mother country.

Massachusetts proved to be the only important offender, and the sum of her enormities was indeed appalling.

"By late accounts from Massachusetts Bay in New England," say the Board, "the Assembly have voted a bounty of thirty shillings for every piece of duck or canvas made in the Province. Some other manufactures are carried on there, as brown holland for women's wear, which lessens the importation of calicoes and some other sorts of East India goods. They also make some small quantities of cloth, made of linen and cotton, for ordinary shirting. By a paper-mill set up three years ago they make to the value of £200 sterling yearly. There are also several forges for making bar-iron, and some furnaces for cast-iron or hollow-ware, and one slitting-mill, and a manufacture for nails.

". . . Great quantities of hats are made in New England, of which the Company of Hatters in London have complained to us that great quantities of these hats are exported to Spain, Portugal, and our West India islands. They also make all sorts of iron for shipping. There are several still-houses and sugar-bakeries established in New England."

The immediate outcome of this investigation was an act of Parliament passed in 1732, and verily the Hatters' Company had their reward. Not only was the colonial export of hats to a foreign port prohibited, but their transportation from one British plantation to another was prohibited, under severe penalties.

Eighteen years later the griefs of another body of British manufacturers called for remedy from Parliament; and an act of 1750, while permitting pig and bar iron to be imported from the colonies into London, prohibited the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or roll-

ing iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, in the colonies, under the penalty of £200. And every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace was declared to be *a common nuisance*, and the colonial governors, upon the information of two witnesses upon oath, were required to cause the same to be *abated.*

But while the Americans of the days before the Revolution were thus forbidden to practise any branch of manufacturing industry which might interfere with the market for British produce, the foundations of future manufacturing greatness were being laid where the power of Parliament could not reach them. In a very high sense, the history of American manufactures reaches back beyond the Revolution, for it was in that period that the peculiar industrial character of our people was developed.

It is difficult to write of this subject without producing the impression of exaggeration. There is only one nation in the world to the mass of whose population mechanical genius can be attributed. That nation is ours. In other countries it is only the picked men, a select few, who possess mechanical insight and aptitude, the power of instantaneously, because instinctively, seizing upon mechanical relations, and a high degree of native efficiency in mechanical operations.

With us the rule is the other way: there are few Americans, at least throughout the Northern States, who have not mechanical insight and aptitude in a degree which elsewhere would make them marked men. As a great organ of English opinion has said, "Invention is a normal function of the American brain." "The American invents as the Greek chiselled, as the Venetian painted, as the modern Italian sings."

By some persons the wonderful mechanical developments of our history have been attributed to the influence of our system of patent legislation. Unless I am wholly wrong, while our patent laws have encouraged specific invention and have multiplied a hundredfold the contrivances, great and small, useful and futile, which have been put upon the market, or at least have taken the form of models and been

stored away in the government office at Washington, the *power to invent*, which inheres to so remarkable a degree in our people, was created altogether irrespective of, and long antecedently to, that system of legislation. It is with us an inheritance; and it is fairly a matter of question whether that inheritance has not been impaired rather than increased during the period covered by our patent-laws; impaired, first, through the dilution of our blood by foreign immigration, and, secondly, through the relief afforded, by increasing wealth, from the physical necessities which so stimulated the mechanical faculty in the first settlers upon these shores.

In inquiring into the genesis of this national trait, we note, first, that the country was settled predominantly by men of that race respecting which Prof. Thorold Rogers has said that he has been unable to find any one notable invention for saving human labor originating elsewhere, excepting in the solitary instance of the carding-machine, the invention of a Frenchman. And of this great inventive Teutonic race, it was the most ingenious branch, the English, which contributed chiefly to the settlement of the Atlantic coast.

Secondly, the early settlers of America constituted, in the main, a picked population. The possibilities of gain which reside in breeding from the higher, stronger, more alert and aggressive individuals of a species are well recognized in the case of the domestic animals; but there have been few opportunities of obtaining a measure of the effect that could be produced upon the human race by excluding from propagation the weak, the vicious, the cowardly, the effeminate, persons of dwarfed stature, of tainted blood, or of imperfect organization. The inhabitants of the English colonies, two hundred and one hundred years ago, constituted a population which was more truly selected, in the respects of mental vigor, intellectual inquisitiveness, freedom of conception, and self-reliance, than any other which history has known.

Thirdly, upon a community thus constituted were laid the severe requirements of existence under an exceptionally rigorous climate. The first settlers had brought out with them from the old country, and had transmitted to their descend-

ants, all the desires, tastes, and ambitions proper to a highly advanced society, with but small means for their gratification.

In his admirable review of the doctrine of Malthus, Professor Senior justly remarks that the true preventive check to population is not the dread of physical privation, but "the fear of losing decencies." Quite as clearly is it the ambition to gain decencies which evokes most fully the spirit of self-denial and of laborious exertion, and quickens to their highest activity all the powers of the mind. It was the wants of the higher nature, which it was not impossible to satisfy in some increasing degree by labor and pains and forethought, which afforded the most acute stimulus to the scheming, devising, calculating faculty in early American life, out of which, in the course of generations, was developed that inventive power which so clearly characterizes the population of to-day.

To make shifts; to save time; to shorten labor; to search out substitutes for what was inaccessible or costly; to cut corners and break through barriers in reaching an object; to force one tool to serve three or four uses, and to compel refractory or inappropriate material to answer urgent wants —this was the constant occupation of our ancestors. Life was no routine, work was no routine, to them, as it is to the peasantry of every country of Europe; as it is fast coming to be among us to-day. Then, everywhere and at all times it was possible to save something from labor, to gain something for comfort and social decency. And through such incessant practice, originality of conception, boldness in framing expedients, and fertility of resource grew by exercise in father and mother, and were transmitted with increasing force to sons and daughters, till invention indeed came to be "a normal function of the American brain."

This wide popular appreciation of mechanical forces and relations constitutes a most important qualification for success in manufactures. The results of invention, in the shape of perfected machinery, might be imported in the hold of a vessel; but few of those whom the steerage brings us are

fit to manipulate, manage, and care for the delicate, intricate, and costly machinery which requires to be used in modern industry. Only those who have a touch of the inventive genius can rightly build the machine, or put it and keep it in working to the highest advantage, with the maximum of effect and the minimum of waste.

"It appeared," said the London *Times* in 1876, speaking of the Philadelphia Exhibition, "as if there were a greater economy of labor habitually practised in the States; and, in conjunction with this, there was evidence of the more constant presence of a presiding mind, superintending every process of industry.

"The best machine in the world will fail to give satisfaction if there is not an intelligent human being at hand to watch it, to detect the smallest failure in its working as soon as it is developed, and to suggest nd supply the means of correcting any miscarriage in its functions. Much of the mechanical work shown at Philadelphia was executed with a fineness which could not have been exceeded *if every man who had a share in its production had originally conceived it.*"

A second condition of our manufacturing industry, from which might have been expected to result early and great success, has been the abundance of what are popularly called raw materials.

The natural resources of the United States, in field and forest and mine, are far beyond those of any of our rivals, England, France, or Germany, and of all of them combined. Our supplies of coal for heating and for power are the wonder of the world, while our Atlantic coast is dotted with immense water-powers. Our iron ores, of the greatest variety and often of high purity, are widely spread over the face of the country; are found in abundance at the least working depths, and, at places, in close juxtaposition to coal and limestone. Besides ores of iron, the United States possess, of useful metals and minerals, great stores of copper, lead, zinc, corundum, quicksilver, asbestos, asphaltum, nickel, cobalt, and kaoline. Our native woods, in beauty, strength, tenacity, and elasticity, are not equalled by the flora of all Europe, while their variety is equally remarkable. Where England or France has thirty or thirty-five indigenous trees, the United States have exceeding three hundred native woody

species, a large part of them excellently adapted to the purposes of the manufacturer. Not less profuse is the wealth of building stones, slates, and marbles which underlie our soil from New England to Tennessee and Alabama.

Of fibres, our soil and climate exhibit a high degree of adaptation to the production of those two which are the chief staples of the textile manufacture, cotton and wool. In the production of the former of these, whether under slave labor or under free labor, we are practically beyond competition from any field.

With such a wealth of materials upon which to exert mechanical powers so extraordinary, the question naturally arises, Why has not the history of American manufactures been one of uninterrupted success, ever since the achievement of our national independence withdrew forges and slitting-mills from the category of "common nuisances"? Why did not the United States at once take the foremost rank, and maintain their proud position, with increasing prestige from decade to decade? Why is it that, after nearly a century of effort, we are still, with all our lavish endowment of faculties, opportunities, and materials, not the first, but only the second, manufacturing nation of the world?

We shall not fully answer this question by saying that vast and varied manufactures presuppose more than high mechanical skill and abundant natural resources; that, besides these, there must be the faculty of organization and administration; the ability to coordinate the integral parts of a service and to subordinate them all to a single will; the ability to supervise the working of a complicated system, holding each agency in its place and up to its work, sternly repressing all wayward tendencies, and maintaining, throughout a widely extended service, a strict responsibility to the official head.

This ability, we know, characterizes in a remarkable degree the high-grade Englishman. Wholly devoid of cunning and with precious little tact, in the usual sense of that term, he has yet shown, through centuries, an exceptional faculty of organization, whether in trade, in manufactures, in finance,

in military operations, or in colonial administration. Have we failed to inherit this faculty in full degree from our English sires ?

Not overlooking examples of a high order of organizing genius in American industry, most conspicuously in the management of our railways, but also notably in many of our Eastern mills and factories, I think it must be admitted that there is a much better chance that a certain body of labor power and capital power, gathered together for a great industrial enterprise, will fall under an economical and prudent, yet bold and efficient, control in England than is the case if in the United States.

Yet this cause, important as it is, falls far short of furnishing a complete explanation of our failure to become the first manufacturing nation of the world.

Nor shall we find what is yet lacking of that explanation, in the fact that we began our industrial career but a century ago with little capital, without warehouses and factories, without machinery and apparatus ; having, indeed, little more than our farms and farmhouses, each with its spinning-wheel, and having, besides, the hand tools of the blacksmith, the mason, the carpenter, and the shoemaker.

Unquestionably the scarcity of capital would have prohibited at the outset, under any conditions in other respects, a rapid development of manufactures ; yet such were the industry and frugality of our ancestors, so great their industrial ambition, that, with the high degree of mechanical skill prevailing and with the aid of liberal endowments from nature, the first generation after the Revolution, say from 1790 to 1820, witnessed a vast accumulation of earned and saved wealth ; and had the savings out of earnings during the generation following, say from 1820 to 1850, been put into manufactures instead of going into new farms, with all which an extension of the agricultural area implies, our manufacturing capital would, by the latter date, have amounted to a very pretty sum.

Since 1850, our accumulations of capital have been made at a prodigious rate of increase ; but of these accumulations, agriculture, not manufactures, has received by far the greater

sum. On an average of the period from 1800 to 1820, we covered with population a tract of nearly 10,000 square miles a year; crossed it with roads and bridges, fenced and trenched it, and dotted it over with cottages and barns, with school-houses and churches.

From 1830 to 1850 the extension of the agricultural area was at the rate of 17,500 square miles; from 1860 to 1880 at the rate of 20,000 square miles, annually!

Had we been content with the settled area of 1850, and allowed ourselves to be confined within those limits, we should have had capital enough, to be borrowed at 6 or even 5 per cent, for carrying on all the shops and factories for which we could have found laborers out of our fast-increasing population. But, on the contrary, since the date last mentioned, we have begun the cultivation of 600,000 square miles, or more than the combined area of France, Austro-Hungary, Great Britain, and Ireland. Small wonder that capital has not sufficed both for this work and for an extension of manufactures equal to the expectations of many patriotic citizens!

The ingrained wastefulness of the native American is doubtless, in some degree, an element of weakness in our manufacturing industry. Whether this quality is due solely to the prodigality of nature in supplying materials, for manufacture or for food, so lavishly that economy in use scarcely seems to be required, or is, in part, the outcome of a certain tendency towards a large and rapid treatment of any subject in which our countrymen may interest themselves, we need not stay to discuss. The fact is undeniable. Make the utilization of waste a problem for his inventive genius to grapple with, and the American will give it consideration; make it the matter of daily care and pains, and he will sovereignly despise and neglect it.

As the Englishman is to the Frenchman, in this respect, such is the American to the Englishman. The genius for petty economies is not his; and, to tell the truth, he does not think much of those who practise them. The influence of this cause on the success of manufactures in the United States has not been slight. Tenderly, sympathetically care-

ful of machinery, the American artisan is habitually indifferent to economy of material.

But while we might well wish for French or Dutch economy in the use of materials, there is one feature of American productive industry—not wholly unconnected, perhaps, with the very fault we have just now commented upon—which it is peculiarly gratifying to an American citizen to observe. This is the high degree of commercial honesty which is maintained by our manufacturers.

How much there may have been in the past to justify the traditional notion that Yankees were dangerously sharp in their dealings, it is difficult to say. The sneers and flings of which the phrase "wooden nutmegs" may be taken as the type, were bitter enough to have had some substantial cause.

If so, the change in our moral constitution has been not less marked than the change in our physical constitution since the days when the Yankee was always represented as lank and lantern-jawed; for certainly to-day, whatever may have been true in the past, not only is there no shadow of a reason for charging upon our people any peculiar delinquency in this respect, but it may be asserted with the utmost confidence that in commercial honesty the manufacturers of the United States, as a body, enjoy a proud pre-eminence: specifically, that neither in France, England, nor Germany is it equally safe to buy goods upon representations made, or on the strength of trade-marks or ordinary commercial brands, as here.

If we have not yet found a sufficient reason for the failure of the United States to reach the position, as a manufacturing nation, assigned by the patriotic anticipations of our fathers, where shall we search for that reason? I answer, that the cause of that comparative failure is found, primarily and principally, in the extraordinary success of our agriculture, as already intimated in what has been said of the investment of capital. The enormous profits of cultivating a virgin soil without the need of artificial fertilization; the advantages which a sparse population derives from the privi-

lege of selecting for tillage only the choicest spots,* those most accessible, most fertile, most easily brought under the plough; and the consequent abundance of food and other necessaries enjoyed by the agricultural class—have tended continually to disparage mechanical industries, in the eyes alike of the capitalist, looking to the most remunerative investment of his savings, and of the laborer, seeking that vocation which should promise the most liberal and constant support. It has been the competition of the farm with the shop which, throughout the entire century of our national independence, has most effectually hindered the growth of manufactures. A people who are privileged to cultivate a reasonably fertile soil, under the conditions indicated above, can secure for themselves subsistence up to the highest limit of physical well-being. If that people possess the added advantage of great skill in the use of tools and great adroitness in meeting the large and the little exigencies of the occupation and cultivation of the soil, the fruits of their labor will include not only everything which is essential to health and comfort, but much that is of the nature of luxury.

It is fair and moderate to say that when the American tiller of the soil has subsisted his family up to the highest standard of living known to the peasantry of any country of Europe,† he has remaining out of his seven-millionth share of the agricultural produce of the country, after paying for all the commodities and services which are essentially involved in his production, enough to support another family of equal size, which surplus he may use in purchasing for consumption the commodities or services of non-agriculturists according to his taste, or he may devote it to the improvement and development of his farm.

The standard of living among the agricultural community sets, of course, the minimum standard of wages for mechanical labor. In the abundance enjoyed by the agricultural

* The United States have, at the present time, but five persons engaged in agriculture for each square mile of settled area.

† Professor Fawcett states that in the west of England "it is impossible for the agricultural laborer to eat meat more than once a week."

class those participate, by the ordinance of nature, who render mechanical services which can only be performed upon the spot, where producer and consumer are necessarily neighbors. Such are the services of the carpenter, cobbler, blacksmith, wheelwright, mason, house-painter, and plumber.

But those who render to the agricultural classes of this country mechanical services which can be performed without regard to the locality of the consumer, which description includes nearly all of what are known as the factory industries, have no such privilege. They are not admitted, by any ordinance of nature, to a participation in this abundance. Only the force of law can put their wages into a relation of equality with those of the agricultural population or of the members of the trades just characterized. Otherwise their remuneration, having no necessary relation to the wages of those classes, will be determined by the wages of mechanical labor prevailing in countries where the soil is cultivated under less favorable conditions.

GROWTH OF THE NATION

General Walker delivered the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Chapter of Brown University, June 18, 1889, on the subject, *The Growth of the Nation in Numbers, Territory, and the Elements of Industrial Power.* A part of this, describing the line of settlement and population of the United States at the beginning of the century, and summarizing the predictions made by Watson and others of future increase, is similar in treatment to other addresses and is therefore omitted.

In its present form the reader will note several passages found in other essays, but as the paper represents, in a brief form, a wide range of Mr. Walker's convictions in regard to the elements, physical, political, and social, which have entered into the evolution of the American people, the address, in part, has been placed in this collection.

GROWTH OF THE NATION.

In this centenary of the Constitution songs will be sung in many keys, on many themes. Some will go back to the foundation of the government, to dwell in enthusiastic admiration on the patriotic devotion, the statesmanlike prescience, the high organizing capacity of the fathers of the Republic, and especially of him who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Others will contemplate the frame of government set up in 1789 as a piece of political mechanism, and will compare its workings with that of governments established in the past, or now in operation in other lands. The jurist will enter into deep discussions of the relations of the States to the Union, and of the powers and limitations of the several coordinate branches of the national government. Others will, according to their temperament and prevailing mode of thought, forecast the dangers of the future, and give their countrymen impressive warning of the evil of ambition, of political self-seeking, of legislative corruption, of executive encroachment, of centralization, of entangling foreign alliances.

My own theme to-day, as we look back upon the first century of the republic, and confront an unknown future, is the growth of the nation in numbers, in territory, and in the elements of industrial power. I am aware that the first mention of this theme will offend the susceptibilities of a class of our citizens who regard all allusions to the might of the republic as savoring of Philistinism, and as disparaging to true greatness, which, in their view, resides in moral qualities and endowments only.

For one I have but little regard for the familiar sneer at "mere bigness." The transcendental contempt for numbers

of men and masses of material and quantities of force, in which many of our moralists and not a few of our publicists have chosen to indulge, I believe to be neither natural nor wholesome. Never shall I forget the grave, though kindly, rebuke by one of America's greatest orators, as, in an excess of boyish enthusiasm, I descanted upon the length of our rivers, the height of our mountains, the breadth of our lakes and inland seas, our fast-swelling numbers, our wealth springing aloft, almost in a night. The observations and reflections of nearly forty years since that day have convinced me that I was nearer right in my boyish enthusiasm and patriotic exaltation than he in his sententious wisdom.

In part, the tendency which has been noted to a disparagement of size, strength, and numbers, is due to the same unnatural and unwholesome vein of thinking so common in the good old days of general indigestion, which made the heroine of the popular romance a fairy, gauzy, almost immaterial creature, all heart and mind; while the novelist selected for his hero a studious, slender young man with a pale, interesting countenance and a towering forehead.

Against that sort of thing there is little need to protest at the present day. The reaction has already taken place. Muscular Christianity has come to stay. The hero of the novel is no longer pale, thoughtful, and romantic, but takes rank according to his courage, sense, and grit in the presence of real danger and hardship. 'Neath the footfall of the heroine of to-day "the light harebell" would have never a chance to lift its head again, for that foot, cased in heavy leather, strikes the ground at a pace and with a force that have little in common with the mincing gait of the girl of forty or fifty years ago.

But this disparagement of "mere bigness" has, in part, a different origin, being due to a purpose to do honor to the moral qualities in national character. To that purpose one can take no exception. But it is not right that the exaltations of those qualities should be sought through disparagement of elements of being to which mankind instinctively accords importance and honor. I must still except to the phrase as signifying that bigness is not, of itself, a thing to

be desired and to be admired when and wherever it is realized.

That is a false notion which would regard only the quality, and not, also, the quantity, of national being. Greatness is admirable, noble, heroic. Neither men nor nations, in miniature, have, or should have, that hold upon the thoughts and the imagination which belongs of right to those that are colossal. The instinct which makes mankind applaud the champion and follow his steps in eager admiration is not a mistaken one. It is glorious to have a giant's strength; and the disparagement, by open speech or covert sneer, of mere greatness, by itself, for itself, will never meet any response in the heart of humanity.

It is not, however, on the foregoing account, solely or mainly, that I have chosen for my theme the rapid, and indeed unprecedented, growth of our country in numbers, wealth, and power, but because I believe that that growth has been an important force in, if not the direct cause of, the growth of the principle of nationality among us; that our size has been of our essence; that quantity has, with us, in no unimportant degree, determined and helped to constitute quality; that not only our political unity, but our character as a nation, has been largely the result of that marvellous progress, at once numerical and geographical, without a parallel in human history, which it is my task here briefly to describe. If, at its conclusion, I shall be able to make it appear that the consequences of this growth in numbers, in extent, and in national wealth, have not alone been peace at home and power abroad, but that the same forces which have made us the most formidable fighting nation of the last quarter of the nineteenth century have promoted and are, in an increasing degree, promoting the cause of international peace, I think I shall need no further apology for taking such a theme on this centennial occasion.*

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The power of the statistician to predict the number of acts or events of a certain character, even within a realm

* See Introductory note, p. 192.

where the human will apparently reigns supreme, or to anticipate the ratios according to which a certain total will be distributed among several classes, always savors of magic to those who are unfamiliar with his methods. The Commissioners of the London Police, while they cannot tell a day in advance when the next explosion of dynamite will take place, or the next Whitechapel murder will be committed, can tell upon the 1st of January the number of persons within a dozen who will be run over and killed during the year in the streets of that city. Many of the destined victims have not as yet left their quiet and safe homes in the country to tempt their fate in the busy, giddy metropolis; perhaps do not even contemplate going to London. But they will leave their homes; they will go up to the city; they will get in the way of the cabs; will be run over, will be taken senseless, lifeless to the morgue, or bruised and bleeding to a hospital, and will thus afford the Commissioners of Police a certain amount of grim and qualified satisfaction by corroborating the official computations.

Of all social facts, however, that which can be predicted with the greatest ease and assurance, over a large field, within a near future, is the relation of births to deaths, from which results the growth or diminution of population. While almost every element of the case is seriously affected, if not absolutely controlled, by either what we must, for the want of a better name, call chance, or else by the idiosyncrasies of individuals, yet the happenings of a million homes will show an astonishing regularity from year to year, so long as social and climatic conditions remain, in general, constant.

If one looks at a closely restricted community, the outcome seems involved in utter uncertainty. The occurrence of sterility cannot even be explained physiologically where it exists, much less anticipated. The occurrence of celibacy is so unaccountable as often to baffle speculation within the very households concerned. Widowhood, again, falls here or falls there throughout the neighborhood, seemingly without rule. And even in prolific marriage the number of children varies within a very wide range, for no reason that can be apprehended. When we add to these disturbing

forces the strangely irregular occurrence of deaths, through natural or accidental causes, we have a combination of wayward and uncertain elements which must make it seem like mockery to say the population of this town or district will increase by 2.35 per cent during the year 1890.

And so, indeed, it would be, did the community comprise but 500, or even 5,000, souls. But, in regard to a district containing 50,000 inhabitants, the prediction might be made with great assurance; while, in dealing with populations numbering millions, the statistician possesses a serene confidence that all the effects of accident, catastrophes, and convulsions of nature, all the effects of individual whim, fancy, impulse, and passion, will offset each other on the one side or on the other of the path along which the community is impelled by the climatic, social, and economic forces which act upon its members; and that, so long as these great forces remain unchanged in character and direction, both choice and chance will be as powerless to bend population from its predetermined line of ascent, as a herring, darting outward from a bay, is powerless to stay the progress or divert the course of the waves that are setting in upon the shore.

In 1790, there were about 600,000 white families in the United States. Speaking broadly, there were few very rich and few very poor. Except in the case of young married couples living with the parents of the husband or the wife, these 600,000 families resided, almost universally, in their own single houses. "Boarding," that modern Moloch, was unknown. It cannot be said that the food of those days was wholesome, but it was abundant; while the occurrence of the dyspeptic pie and the deadly doughnut was sufficiently uniform to answer all the purposes of the vital statistician. Both the social traditions and the religious beliefs of the people made the will of the husband supreme. While this law reigned in the household, there was nothing without to repress, but, on the contrary, everything to encourage, a rapid growth of population. There was fashion after a sort; but it was not a fashion which made child-bearing a nuisance or a hinderance. At this period, and for a

generation afterwards, the country enjoyed profound domestic tranquillity; while its warlike enterprises abroad were so few and trivial as scarcely to affect the ordinary life of the nation. At this time, too, the land was but partially settled; mechanical labor was scarce; while upon the farm it was difficult (and this state of things continued nearly down to 1850; that is, to the date of the great Irish immigration, following the famine of 1846–47) to command hired labor at all, almost the only agricultural laborers at the North being young men who went out to work for a few years to get a little ready money to marry upon. So far was it from being true that the arrival of more laborers implied a reduction in the existing scale of remuneration, that immigration was welcomed and in every way promoted, as adding to the strength of the country. The conditions recited are such as would allow population to expand at its maximum rate; and, in fact, the first five censuses of the United States exhibit the operation of a single, simple force, the principle of population operating without the suggestion of an obstructing or retarding medium.

Now, when the principle of population operates without obstruction, the increase of numbers is, of course, by geometrical progression; and the capabilities of geometrical progression, when persisted in, through even a limited number of terms, are simply tremendous.

Under the conditions which existed between 1790 and 1840, when increase of numbers meant increase of wealth, population developed as regularly and as equably as a gas expanding *in vacuo*. Its law of increase was easily determinable by a simple operation; and, when found, could be applied with the highest degree of exactness and assurance, until the economic and social conditions of American life should change.

In order, however, to preserve one of the prime conditions of a sustained increase of population at its maximum, viz., comparative sparseness of settlement, it was essential that a large part of the increase of each generation, each decade, should be transplanted and set out in new soil, that it, in turn, might reach the capability of a duplication in twenty-

two years. That process had begun even before the Revolution, in spite of the repression excited by the French and Indian wars in the valley of the Ohio, and by the power of the Creeks and their confederates at the South. The achievement of independence and the full establishment of the new nation gave to that movement an impulse which soon caused it far to transcend the limits of any of the great migrations of mankind upon the old continents. The story of the geographical process of our national growth, which was, in truth, of the very essence of that increase in numbers which has been indicated, is among the marvels of our race; and I confess that it is to me not less a subject of admiration than the highest achievement in arts, letters, and science, or than the prodigies of human valor in which the histories of other nations abound. From 1790 to 1800, the mean population of the period being about four and a half millions, 65,000 square miles,—a territory four times as large as Switzerland, including all its barren mountains,—was, for the first time, brought within the limits of settlement, crossed with roads and bridges, built up in houses and barns, churches and schools, and much of it, also, cleared of primeval forests.

In the next ten years, the mean population of the decade being about six and one half millions, the people of the United States extended their industrial sway over 98,000 square miles of absolutely new territory, annexed it from the wilderness, conquered, subdued, improved, cultivated, civilized it, all in rude pioneer fashion.

And all this time population was deepening upon the older fields; cities and towns were everywhere springing up and growing into commercial and industrial importance. Philosophic historians have been wont to attribute the long and hopeless decay of Spain to the drain upon its physical and intellectual powers involved in the conquest and occupation of Mexico and South America. Did the prodigious efforts of its first twenty years exhaust the vital force of the new nation of the West ? Did a period of long sterility, with decay here and there, of great branches show that too much life had been allowed to flow into these new limbs of

the great Northern Republic? The answer is found in this, that, between 1810 and 1820, besides increasing the density of population upon almost every league of the older territory, and in spite of a three years' war waged against the powerful fleets and armies of England, the people of the United States advanced their frontier to occupy 101,000 square miles, or considerably more than the combined area of Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Portugal.

Between 1820 and 1830, 124,000 square miles, more than the area of Great Britain and Ireland, were brought within the frontier. Between 1830 and 1840, the annexation from the wilderness, by pioneer settlement and primitive cultivation, rose to 175,000 square miles, or more than all Japan; than all Sweden, with its mountainous expanses stretching far away into the frozen north; almost as much as the great historical kingdom of Spain, that once was mistress of the world by land and by sea.

Do my hearers appreciate what is involved in the settlement and cultivation of any region, however rudely?

No other race that ever dwelt upon the globe could have extended settlement in so short a time over so vast a field; could have opened such an area to cultivation; have fenced and ditched it; have covered the land with roads and the streams with bridges; dotted the plains and the hills over with barns, houses, schools, and churches, of such an order of comfort and decency; and, from the soil thus inclosed, after maintaining the existing population in such abundance and quality of food and clothing, have had left for export so many millions of tons of vegetable and animal produce, in meat, in fibres, and in grain. No other race could have done this; no, not the half of it. Any other of the great migratory races—Tartar, Slav, or German—would have broken hopelessly down in an effort to compass such a field in such a term of years.

That which allowed this great work to be done so rapidly, smoothly, and fortunately, was, first, the popular tenure of the soil; and, secondly, the character of our agricultural class.

Of our agricultural class it is difficult to speak without pro-

ducing the effect of exaggeration. At no time in our early history did the cultivators of the soil, north of the Potomac and the Ohio, constitute a peasantry in the ordinary sense of that term. They had been the same kind of men, precisely, as those who filled the learned professions or were engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits. Of two sons of the same mother, one became a lawyer, perhaps a judge, or went down to the city and became a merchant or banker, or gave himself to politics and came to be the governor of his State, or a Senator in Congress. The other stayed upon the ancestral homestead, or made a new one for himself and his children out of the public domain, further west, remaining all through his life a plain, hard-working farmer. This is no ideal statement. It stands for a solid, simple fact.

This condition of things has made American to differ from European agriculture by a very wide interval. Switzerland and Scotland, indeed, comparatively barren lands, have, in some degree, approached the United States in this respect; but there is no other considerable country than ours, where equal mental activity and alertness have been applied to the cultivation of the soil as to trade and manufactures. Trade and manufacture have no advantage here, in the character of the men pursuing them. If there has been any preference, it is the agricultural interest, which, looking widely over the land, one might say has had the best. Abram Garfield and his wife were no extraordinary examples of the man and woman who were the pioneers in the great movement across the face of the continent. Ebenezer Webster and his wife were no extraordinary examples of the man and woman who upheld the State and carried on the farms of the "Old Thirteen."

But even the causes which have been advanced would have failed to allow such effects to be wrought over so vast a field within so brief a time, had not the genius of the American people had very special adaptations to mechanical construction, contrivances, and inventions.

In speaking of the genesis of this remarkable trait of the American mind, I shall confine my view to New England.

What was true of that region in the early days of settlement was true, in greater or less degree, of other North American colonies. New England was settled almost exclusively by one branch of the great Teutonic race, from which has proceeded almost every invention and mechanical discovery of the past two centuries. Of that Teutonic race, it was that branch, the English, which had long shown itself pre-eminent in mechanical insight, that colonized this coast. There is no reason to suppose that otherwise than through coming predominately from the intelligent and virtuous middle class of the old country, constituting thus a picked body, from which, in a great measure, were excluded the weak, the vicious, the effeminate persons of dwarfed stature, tainted blood, and imperfect organization, the first settlers of New England possessed any superiority, in the quality under consideration, over the English people in general. It was to their experiences, extending through many generations, upon this inhospitable shore, that their descendants were to owe the development of a mechanical faculty which was to place them as far ahead of the English as the English are ahead of any other branch of the Teutonic race; as the Teutonic race is ahead of the Slavic or the Celtic.

Our grandfathers and grandmothers came here in great poverty and straitness of means to occupy and cultivate harsh and grudging soil. Those conditions alone would, in time, have bred a pinched and dwarfed peasantry; but the immigrants brought with them to this new land, the tastes, aspirations, and ambitions of the old and prosperous communities from which they came. These tastes, ambitions, and aspirations, encountering the stern necessities and exigencies of a rigorous climate, and a comparatively barren land, bred the New Englander of the Revolution and of the first decades of the Union. It never was, after the first few years, a struggle for bare existence, a struggle which is always dwarfing, chilling, and paralyzing in its effects on mind and character. It was the wants of the higher nature, which it was not impossible, by labor and pains and foresight, to satisfy in a considerable and constantly increasing degree, which

afforded the acute stimulus to the scheming, devising, and calculating faculty throughout the early American life, out of which was in time developed that inventive power which has so strikingly characterized the American of later history. To make shifts; to save time; to diminish labor; to search out substitutes for what was costly or inaccessible; to cut corners and break down barriers, in reaching an object; to force one tool to serve three or four purposes, and to compel refractory or inappropriate material to answer urgent wants—this was the daily occupation of our ancestors.

This wide popular appreciation of force and of relations in space constituted a most important, indeed, an essential, qualification of our early population for the gigantic task they were to accomplish in the settlement of the soil of the new nation. The mechanical genius which has entered into our later manufactures, the engineering skill which has guided the construction of our greatest works, have been exceeded, I do not fear to say, in the first hurried "improvements" upon the frontier farm; in the housing of men, women, and children, live stock and the gathered crops, against the furious storms of winter; in the rough and ready reconnoissances which disclosed the "lay of the land" and the capabilities of the soil; in the provision made for the thousand exigencies of primitive agriculture.

It was about 1840 that certain important and far-reaching changes began to be wrought in the conditions which had thus far governed the numerical and geographical development of the American people. At that time the population of the United States was 17,000,000. The westward movement had extended so far as to line the eastern bank of the Mississippi, through nearly its entire course, with continuous settlements. Substantially the whole territory covered by the treaty of peace and independence in 1783 had, therefore, at that date been occupied. This rapid progress of population had, at least, carried the nation past the possibility of a split along the line of the Appalachian range, a danger which certainly had been imminent in the first decade of the century. The unity of East and West had been firmly established. Beyond the Mississippi, into the territory

acquired from France by the treaty of 1803, population had entered, as yet, from the South only. Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana were, indeed, States of the Union; but only a few pioneer settlements intimated the possibilities of the great Northwest.

The change which I have spoken of as occurring about 1840 was in respect to the growth of the native population. The numbers of the people revealed by the Seventh Census, in 1850, did, indeed, reach the total computed by Watson; but this was only secured by a rapid rise of the stream of foreign immigration, which leaped from 600,000, for the decade 1830–40, up to over 1,700,000, for the decade 1840–50. Had the number of foreign arrivals no more than kept pace with the native population, the census of 1850 would have shown a deficiency of nearly one million. And this falling off in the growth of the native population was not to be for that decade only. In 1860 the enumerated population was found below Watson's figures by 300,000, notwithstanding a body of foreign arrivals, during the decade, which rose to the astounding total of 2,600,000. So that, had the increase of population been left to the native stock alone, as had practically been the case between 1820 and 1830, when the foreign arrivals were but 150,000, Watson would have been found 2,500,000 in error. We have already stated that, in spite of an ever-swelling flood of foreign immigration, the falling-off from the computed population has increased at every successive census, until it is almost certain that it will not be less than 12,000,000 in 1890, and 20,000,000 in 1900.

The time had come for a change in the occupations and in the social habits of the American people. The objects which, during the earlier period, the nation had pursued with such singleness and eagerness of purpose, were thereafter to divide their thoughts and energies with other objects proper to a fuller stage of development.

A prime condition of the maximum increase of population, say a duplication once in twenty-two years, had been that settlement should be everywhere comparatively sparse; that a large part of the increase of each generation and

decade should at once be transplanted to vacant soil, in order that reproduction should go forward with unabated vigor. This process had been carried on until the whole Ohio valley and all the fertile regions east of the Mississippi had been fairly well settled, with consequences, as I apprehend them, of inestimable value to the unity and integrity of the nation and to the political and social character of our native population.

A new work, and, in many respects, a different mode of life, now offered themselves to the people of the United States.

In the first place, manufactures, on the large scale, were to be established. Down to this time the real manufacture of the United States had been the production of a million freehold farms; and the opinion had already been expressed, that the inventive genius and engineering skill which were expended in that great work have never been surpassed in the history of mankind. The rare mechanical endowment of our native people was now to be turned to the creation of a system of technical manufactures; that career was to be undertaken which, in spite of oft-mistaken aims, in spite of many convulsions and disasters, in spite of much legislative and blundering intermeddling, was, in half a century, to lead the United States to the proud position of the first industrial nation of the world.

Moreover, a different feeling had come to animate American social life. The people of the United States had earned the right to give more time to enjoyment and less to acquisition. Attachment to home, a craving for refinements impossible under the conditions of pioneer life, something of the luxurious sense, even a certain enjoyment of leisure, began to impair the energy of the national movement. The force, that had been expanding regularly and equably *in vacuo*, for the first time encountered an obstructing medium. The train that had been moving easily at full speed, over the level plain, now began to labor up the incline. It was the change from the simplicity of the early time to comparative luxury, including a rise in the standard of living, the multiplication of artificial necessities, the rapid extension of

a paid domestic service, the increasing introduction of women into factory labor, the substitution of the hotel and boarding-house for the self-sufficing, self-contained family, which, in the main, constituted the retarding force.

The popular notion that this effect was due to a loss of physical vigor will not bear the test of evidence. At the time when our population was purest; when immigration was so slight as to be scarcely appreciable, the American people had shown the capability of maintaining a rate of increase which should double population in twenty-two years; and this, over vast regions and through long periods. At the time the change noted took place, the general standard of health was rising under the influence of a more generous diet, a better understanding of the laws of health, and the introduction of modern medicine. The soil and the climate over which the population in question had spread were the soil and climate which have developed the English short-horn to a perfection never attained in its native country; which have improved the English racer to the production of an Iroquois, a Foxhall, a Parole, and a Hindoo; which have made from the Irish peasant a Heenan and a Sullivan. This is not the soil and that is not the climate on which and in which the European race is to lose reproductive vigor; nor is there the slightest statistical or physiological evidence to justify the attributing of the effects we have noted to such a cause. It was all the natural result of the changed social and economic conditions under which the American people had come to live.

Decided as was the reduction in the rate of increase, however, the reproductive vigor of the population was yet sufficient, aided by vast accessions from abroad, to achieve a gain in population of 8,000,000 between 1850 and 1860; of 7,000,000 between 1860 and 1870; of 12,000,000 between 1870 and 1880; while it is a little doubtful that the census of 1890 will show a further gain of 14,000,000.

Neither time nor this occasion would allow me to speak of the great crisis in our national development, when, for four long and terrible years, the American people paused in their course of construction and expansion to work out the prob-

lem of the political relations of the States, which had purposely, perhaps wisely, been left to a future time and an unborn generation by the Convention of 1787. Fortunately, the great Northwest had then become occupied, and entered into that contest to turn the scale towards an indissoluble union of indestructible States. Had the settlement of that region been deferred for but twenty years, by a lower rate of multiplication and by a tardier geographical expansion of the republic, it is not impossible that the United States would then have broken in two across the line of the Potomac and the Ohio, as fifty years before it might, but for the prompt settlement of the Mississippi valley, have broken in two across the back of the Appalachian range. That crisis fortunately passed, we have come to this happy centennial year a united and free people of 62,000,000, the first agricultural, the first manufacturing, the first commercial nation of the earth. The close of the nineteenth century will see us nearly 80,000,000 strong ; greater in all the elements of industrial, financial, and military power than any two nations of the Old World.

Such, hastily and rudely told, is the story of our national growth in the hundred years now closing. I have failed of my purpose if I have allowed the impression to remain on any mind that it has been a great country merely or mainly that has made us a great people. I have sought to show that it was the peculiar quality of our population, derived from ante-revolutionary experiences, which alone enabled us to compass that remarkable march across the continent, and to possess and turn to advantage the resources of nature in such a transcendent degree. I have also sought to make it appear probable that it was the prompt settlement of the territory confirmed to us by the treaty of 1783, and afterwards of that acquired from France by the treaty of 1803, which secured the permanent integrity of our soil ; and that thus, in the highest sense, our quantity has determined our quality as a people. Of this I myself entertain not the faintest doubt. I confidently believe that to that unstaying march we owe the unity of the nation ; and that, had population faltered, even but for one or two decades, in accomplishing its mighty

mission of settling the Ohio valley, and, in the next period, the great Northwest, the fate of the young republic would have been adversely decided.

But, however one may, according to his temperament, or according to his point of view, read this great "might have been," I think no one can doubt that both the increase of our population and its expansion over a continually wider and wider territory, have been the chief causes of the remarkable development among us of that public spirit which we call patriotism.

In this centennial time I would not lightly speak a word in disparagement of our heroic ancestors; but it was a necessary outcome of colonial history that the occurrence of the Revolution found scarcely a trace of Pan-American sentiment among them. Even the common struggles and sacrifices of the Seven Years' War bred the instinct of nationality in but a low degree; while, after the return of peace, the loose and weak Confederation of 1781 began to go rapidly to pieces. Words could hardly exaggerate the feebleness of the tie which held together the States that had together achieved independence of Great Britain; the indifference with which the recommendations and requisitions of Congress were received; the tardy and grudging manner in which contributions, far below the absolute necessities of the government, were made to the common treasury. In the Convention of 1787, an agreement for a general union was reached at all only by the most humiliating concessions on some points, and by the systematic avoidance of fundamental issues in other directions.

Doubtless the sentiment of nationality would, in any event, have grown, through the common experiences of the old thirteen States, in their new relationship; doubtless it did grow there, in no inconsiderable degree, between 1789 and 1832. Even the sectionalism, which statesmen and orators so deeply deplored, served in a measure to educate the people away from that fatal particularism, that overweening consideration of the state, which had imperilled the formation, and still imperilled the continuance, of the Union. But this sectionalism, again, brought dangers all its own.

It was the formation of new States on new soil, where men from all the "Old Thirteen" might meet and mingle, in communities which had as yet no history of their own, where the pride of statehood could, at first, have but little force, and where nothing counteracted the sentiment of unity—this it was which made the fire of Americanism that had burned but slowly within the barriers of tradition and prescription, and that some time, alas! had but smouldered with a stifling smoke, to blaze forth with intensest heat. Doubtless there has been, doubtless there still is, in this formation of new States on new soil, some danger of a tendency towards centralization; but its first effect, in quickening the too tardy sentiment of Pan-Americanism, has been almost wholly for the good of the republic. It remains for the statesmen of the United States—it remains for the sober sense, the second thought of the plain people—to provide all needed safeguards against the abuse of a principle so stimulating, so exalting, so ennobling.

I shall ask your attention to but one other way in which, as I esteem it, quantity has with us determined quality; in which our marvellous growth in numbers, in territorial extent, and in industrial power, has importantly helped to make our national character what it is. I refer to the remarkable development of the spirit of civility, reciprocity, and fair play in the relations of this with other nations, in the later as compared with the earlier days of the republic. Again, I am reluctant to say harsh words of our fathers in these days of centennial congratulations; but I believe that no one can thoroughly read the history of our country without the full conviction that during the first fifty or sixty years we were a most peevish, petulant, and litigious people, towards other nations of high rank; while our course toward our weaker neighbors was not altogether exempt from the blame of wanton aggression.

Not to speak of disputable questions in our relations with England and France, our dealings with Spain,—always, in spite of much provocation, a good friend of the United States,—our treatment of Mexico, our filibustering enterprises in Cuba and Central America, our hostile designs upon Canada,

our abundant "tall talk" about "manifest destiny,"—all these form a chapter which can never be pleasant reading for a truly patriotic American. A great part, no doubt, was due to the supposed necessities of slavery propagandism; but, in the main, these faults of our early career were the result of a lack of self-respect, the spirit of provincialism, a distrust of our own power and position, and uneasiness under foreign criticism.

How great the difference to-day! Let one ask himself when and where he last heard any of that vapid, confident talk about "manifest destiny," once so common in the press and in the halls of Congress; let one ask himself what, in the America of our time, corresponds to the filibustering, the bluster, the threats against weaker peoples, of thirty or forty years ago, and he will obtain a perhaps unexpected view of the mighty change that has passed over our temper as a nation.

In the last few years I have read the columns of a hundred newspapers without meeting a paragraph that breathed the old-time spirit; I have travelled many thousands of miles without hearing from the lips of any private citizen a word which testified to a disposition to wrong even the weakest of our neighbors. A bit of buncombe now and then in Congress, an occasional act of jingoism on the part of an administration, may show that the professional politicians of the old school are not all dead yet; but with these things the nation at large has not the slightest sympathy. To-day, however deficient we may be in the niceties of diplomatic intercourse, we are known to all the world as a people who desire only justice and peace. Under the shadow of our practically irresistible power, small states are resting without alarm and without apprehension of wrong.

Is it a coincidence merely that as we have become strong we have become magnanimous towards others? On the contrary, I believe that the relation is distinctly one of cause and effect. Conscious of our own might; no longer uneasy under foreign criticism, or distrustful of our own courage; having abundantly proven that the valor and endurance of our race have suffered no deterioration on this continent,—the peev-

ishness, the irritability, the quarrelsomeness of our national youth have vanished, and in their place have come the calm and settled purpose, the firm and equable temper, the large and clear outlook, which belong to manhood. A most remarkable proof of the peaceful intentions of our people has been offered during the past twenty years by their complete indifference to the question of national armament, and even of national defence. That indifference has doubtless been carried to an extreme, so far as national defence is concerned. But what evidence could be so strong in proof of the utter and absolute indisposition of our population towards conquest or forcible annexation? Long may that spirit animate the people of the United States. Let us frown indignantly upon every proposed measure, upon every representative vote, upon every word of any man, whether in public or private speech, which assumes, or gives countenance to the assumption, that this people are to come under the curse of the war system, or which threatens our friendly relations with any power upon earth. Sixty-two millions now, in eleven years more we shall be 80,000,000, transcending in all the elements of industrial, of financial, and, if one please, also of military strength, the combined resources of any two of the greatest nations of the Old World. Who shall molest us, or make us afraid? Who shall be so insane as wantonly to attack the foremost power of earth? Why, then, should we take the first step towards entering upon that career of competitive armament into which mutual jealousies and mutual fears have driven the nations of Europe? a career which, once entered upon, has no logical stopping-place short of the complete exhaustion, impoverishment, and financial bankruptcy of all but the one richest nation, which, in its turn, finds that it has earned nothing but to be the object of universal dread and universal detestation.

Let it, then, be our pride, as it is our privilege, to remain the great unarmed nation, as little fearing harm from any as desiring to do wrong to any. Let us follow the paths of peaceful, happy industry, developing the resources with which nature has so bountifully endowed us, reserving our giant

strength for those competitions whose results are mutual benefits, and bestowing upon schools and colleges, libraries and museums, public parks and institutions of charity and beneficence, that wealth which others waste on frontier fortresses and floating castles.

One word will conclude this long strain. Happy are they whose time of entering upon the duties of active life coincides with the opening of the second century of the Constitution! Happy are those who, as they step over the threshold of the cloister, leaving tutelage and pupilage forever, go out into a world so fair as that which lies open to the young men of America to-day!

When many of us who are here assembled ourselves came upon the stage of action, the sky was deeply overcast. Low down upon the horizon the lightning's deadly gleam already foretold the coming storm. No such gloomy portents daunt their souls to-day. The broad sunlight of peace and universal liberty lies all around them; the foremost nation of the world gladly welcomes them to its citizenship, and freely invites them to become partakers of blessings that have been purchased by untold labors, sacrifices and sufferings, in sweat of brow and agony of heart, in days gone by.

SOCIAL ECONOMICS

OCCUPATIONS AND MORTALITY OF OUR FOREIGN POPULATION, 1870

Chicago Advance, NOVEMBER 12, DECEMBER 10, 1874, AND JANUARY 14, 1875

The following extracts are taken from a series of articles published in the Chicago *Advance*. They are of special interest when read in connection with the articles on immigration.

OCCUPATIONS AND MORTALITY OF OUR FOREIGN POPULATION, 1870.

VIEWED in respect of their industrial occupations, the foreigners among us may be divided as those who are where they are, because they are doing what they are doing; and those who are doing what they are doing, because they are where they are. In the former case, occupation has determined location; in the latter, location has determined occupation. In either case, the location being given, we have a clew to the occupation.

Respecting a foreigner at the West, the presumption is very decided that his chosen occupation, perhaps his hereditary occupation, has determined his location; but at the East the presumption is rather the other way. Here we find the peasants of Ireland and Germany engaged, painfully to themselves and often wastefully to their employers, in all sorts of mechanical operations to which they have no traditional or acquired aptitude; while, on the other hand, not a few of the skilled mechanics and cunning artificers of Europe, finding here no demand for their labor in the very special direction in which alone they have been trained, or being excluded from competition by trades-union regulations, or being disadvantaged by their poverty, their strangeness, and their foreign speech, have settled down by the mere force of circumstance, to breaking stone for highways, to working on railroads, to menial service, or to day-labor in any capacity. They are found in our mills, earning a mean living by the side of utterly untaught and untrained laborers; or, they have joined their fortunes to those of some ward-ring of politicians, and have become its bullies and strikers—very much as they would have done had they

found themselves, equally helpless and forlorn, in Rome, in the year 63 B.C. And perhaps one may remark, without offence, that our female domestics from Germany and Ireland do not always carry themselves in a manner to suggest a professional aptitude and an inherited grace; that the step we hear below or overhead is sometimes a little louder than if keyed by years and generations of household service, and that the backs which bear our domestic burdens would seem quite as well suited to the hay-field or the loom.

In a word, no one can travel much in the East without seeing that with no small proportion of our vast foreign element, occupation is determined by a location that is accidental, or practically beyond the control of individuals; that these people are doing what they are doing, because they are where they are. And the reason for such a wholesale subjection of labor to its circumstances, is found in the miscellaneousness, the promiscuousness, and we may say the tumultousness, of the immigration to the United States since the days of the Irish famine. Of all who have come to us in the past twenty-seven years, by far the greater part have come unprovided and uninstructed for the experiences of their American life. Whether pushed fairly out of their own country by the pressure of population, or escaping from military conscription, or moved by restlessness and the spirit of adventure, or burning with the gold fever, or allured by the false reports of relatives and acquaintances on this side of the water; they have fallen on our shores, the migratory impulse exhausted, their money gone, with no definite purposes, with no special preparation, to become the victims of their place and circumstances, to seek such occupation as offers itself, to underbid native labor, to adapt themselves painfully to the conditions of our industry such as they have found them, or to join the rabble that troops after a Tweed, a Morrissey, a Hayes, an O'Brien. A little direction and assistance from government would have sufficed to carry hundreds of thousands of those who have remained at the East, to their own misfortune and that of the communities on which they were thus thrown unprovided and uninstructed, to the far West, where, accustomed as they were to agricul-

tural labor, and with nature so kindly and bounteous as to tolerate their early mistakes, and almost to make them free of their mere necessary subsistence, they would have added to the real strength and wealth of the Union, as well as have secured their own success and the happiness of their families. Many a wretched beer-guzzler hanging about the saloons of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, many a desperate ballot-stuffer and shoulder-hitter, the scourge of our politics, would, had he once been carried through Castle Garden and dropped five hundred miles beyond New York, have become a useful and prosperous citizen.

There is a tendency at every harbor which lies at the *débouché* of a river, to the formation of a bar composed of mud and sand, brought down by the current which yet has not the force to scour its channel clear out to deep water. And, in much the same way, there is a tendency, at every port of immigration, to the accumulation of large deposits of more or less helpless labor, from the failure of the immigrating force, which a little assistance and direction from government would serve to carry far inland, and distribute widely and to the best advantage at once of the immigrants and of the industry of the country.

It is commonly believed that this supply of cheap, untaught labor, derived from the misdirection of European peasants to mechanical pursuits, has had a beneficial effect upon our production. Doubtless it has served to promote the growth of some early and coarse forms of industry; but doubtless, also, it has exerted an influence prejudicial to the development of the higher and finer manufactures. Contrary to current economical maxims, employers of labor are just as liable as common folks to the illusion that what brings a low price is therefore cheap, and also just as liable as common folks to accept a small present gain at the sacrifice of large future advantage; and this opportunity of securing low-priced labor, which has not only been offered every manufacturer at the East, but has fairly been thrust in his face, has generally proved a temptation too strong to be resisted. Not to dwell upon the consideration, the result has been to disparage our goods in the opinion of consumers, and

to discourage skill and care and pains in American manufacturing industry.

Of those foreigners whose occupations have determined their location, the most notable instances are the Welsh and the Scandinavians.

Why should there be nearly four times as many Welsh in Pennsylvania as in New York? Why four times as many in Ohio as in Illinois? The reason is obvious. The Welsh are famous miners and iron-makers. Their labor has not been wasted. They have come out to this country under intelligent direction, and have gone straight to the place where they were wanted.

Quite as striking has been the self-direction of the Swedish and Norwegian immigrants. Four States, all west of Lake Michigan, contain 94 per cent of all the Norwegians in the country, and 66 per cent of the Swedes; while of the remaining fractions, by far the greater part is also found in other States and Territories, within the same meridians. These immigrants have gone straight across the country, a far greater journey than was required of the Welsh, and have set at once about their chosen occupation, agriculture, in their chosen homes, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, without loss of time, or injury to character by exposure, unemployed and unprovided, to the temptations of city life.

Although the Scotch have not in the same way emphasized their choice of locations, in which to pursue their chosen vocations, being, indeed, scattered somewhat widely, we have the strongest evidence that they have placed themselves to suit themselves (not merely been thrown ashore by a wave of immigration), in the fact that very few of the men of this country are employed as day-laborers.

It is probably not owing so much to superior foresight or to ampler means that the British Americans in "the States" have, as it would appear, located themselves pretty much according to their industrial preferences, as to the fact of their original proximity, and the advantages they found in this for obtaining information, for easily reaching the place of their choice, and for easily *recovering* themselves in case of mistake.

Indeed, it is well known that no other part of our foreign population is so highly migratory.

Of all our foreign elements, the Irish is that which would seem, from a study of their occupation, to have been most subject to circumstances. The conditions of their forced and most painful emigration from Ireland must be held to account amply for this.

* * * * *

We have, then, two factors of high value, which require to be introduced into every discussion of the relative mortality of the foreign and the native population of the United States. These are :

1. The preponderatingly northern location of the foreigners, exempting them, in a great degree, from diseases especially characteristic of southern latitudes.

2. The deficiency of foreign children, reducing greatly (sometimes to a minimum) the natural or proportional contribution of the foreign element to the deaths from infantile diseases.

In the course of his studies, the writer has had occasion to analyze the statistics of mortality, with constant reference to both the above elements ; and, without burdening the reader with processes, he will state the most important features of the results.

In addition to the diseases mentioned, we note a peculiar fatality among the foreign population as a whole, from bronchitis, smallpox, croup, hydrocephalus, cancers, apoplexy, and Bright's disease of the kidneys. On the contrary, we note a comparative exemption from death by measles, diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping-cough, and paralysis.

If we explain the fact of excess of deaths from smallpox, by the aggregation of foreigners in cities (two millions and a half being found in one hundred and seventy-five cities and towns), we shall then have all the more difficulty in accounting for the comparative deficiency in deaths from measles and scarlet fever. Doubtless, we should admit a marked difference in the constitutional liability of the foreigners

as a whole, in our climate, and under our social and industrial conditions, in respect to the several diseases named.

Next, how is it with the mortality of the foreign population as a whole, without reference to the special causes of death? Does it exceed that of the native population, or fall below it? Apparently it falls below, in the proportion of 9.1 to 10. But if we consider that 46.7 per cent of all deaths occur under ten years of age; and that the foreigners constitute but 1.5 per cent of the population in that period of life, we see that important allowances must be made before we can fairly contrast the mortality of the native and foreign elements. What we need to do is to compare the foreigners with an equal native population, constituted of the same proportion of children and adults. Effecting this, as best we can, we find the mortality among the foreigners considerably greater than among the native population *of the same ages*, the ratio being no longer 9.1 to 10, but somewhere about 12.6 to 10.

If our readers are not already tired of the very word, we will proceed to point out the diseases which prove especially fatal to each of our principal foreign elements, from which, however, we now omit the Canadians, as, although foreign to our soil and flag, they can scarcely be said to be foreign to our air.

It will be noted that we are no longer troubled to make the two corrections which are required in all comparisons of the foreign population, as a whole, with either of the native elements, white or colored. The special foreign elements may fairly be taken as alike in respect to the deficiency of children; and, while the location of two elements has been shown to be, in several instances, complementary (one being found where the other is not), yet in such cases both are wholly in the same zone. It is true that climatic differences, not inconsiderable, exist between East and West; but they work no such wholesale effects as we find in contrasting North with South.

We note, then, among the Irish, a comparative exemption from the diseases known as "general diseases of the febrile group," *i.e.*, fevers, smallpox, diphtheria, etc., and also

from disease of the digestive and nervous systems ; and, on the other hand, a marked liability to "general diseases of the constitutional group," especially consumption, and to diseases of the urinary system, with extraordinary mortality from Bright's disease of the kidneys,—not less than one fourth of all the deaths in the United States from this dreaded disease occurring among this single class of the population.

Among the Germans we find a reduced mortality from general diseases of the constitutional group, and a decided liability to those, especially smallpox, of the febrile group (being an exact reversal of the relations of the Irish thereto); otherwise, there is a general evenness in the distribution of the deaths among this class of the population between the individual diseases and groups of diseases, much according to the proportions exhibited by the whole population of the country.

Among the English and Welsh is noted a liability to diseases of the nervous, circulatory, and digestive systems, contrasted with comparative immunity from general diseases of both the febrile and constitutional groups.

Among the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, there is a marked liability to diseases of the digestive system, especially diarrhœa, dysentery, and enteritis, and an extraordinary mortality (as, in a somewhat less degree, was noted of the Germans) from general diseases of the febrile group, notably measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhus, enteric, and cerebro-spinal fevers ; with comparative immunity, on the other hand, from the general diseases of the constitutional group, and from diseases of the circulatory, nervous, and urinary systems. Deaths from cancers, apoplexy, paralysis, bronchitis, and Bright's disease of the kidneys, are remarkably few.

Among the Scotch and French there is a general evenness in the distribution of the body of deaths among the several groups of diseases, the Scotch being, perhaps, especially exempt from smallpox, scrofula, all the fevers, so called, and especially liable to cancers, paralysis, measles, and whooping-cough.

It hardly needs to be said, that throughout the foregoing discussion we have spoken of diseases only as causes of death. We have no information, on anything like a Continental scale, as to the prevalence of particular diseases among any class of the population, except as they result in death.

We have not spoken of deaths from accidents and injuries. Here, as we might expect, it is pre-eminently the fate of the Irish to suffer. Brave and adventurous even to the point of recklessness, it is always the Irishman's turn to be smashed in a collision, elevated in an explosion, and sent to the bottom in a storm. If the roof does not fall on him, he falls from the roof. Powder is never half so quick as when he handles it; ladders never half so frail as when he seeks to climb them. He dies by every form of injury except suicide. With indomitable gayety and hopefulness, he refuses to look upon this world as wholly evil, or to quit it until his time has come. The Germans, on the other hand, are the great suiciding people among us. Exactly one half of all the suicides which take place among the entire population are accredited to them. The English and Welsh, as we might expect, meet their fate in the mines, where they form a large part of the population. More than a third of all the deaths from mining accidents during the year 1870 are reported as occurring among these veteran miners, to whom familiarity only brings contempt of danger. From deaths by railroad accidents, both they and the Germans were singularly exempt during the year 1870.

OUR DOMESTIC SERVICE

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OUR DOMESTIC SERVICE.

I DO not propose to sing the woes of the American housekeeper. If aught needs to be added to the body of recent literature on that theme, the impulse to write must come from fuller hearts than mine. Let those who suffer, relate how slatternly is Dinah, how impudent Bridget, how stupid Wilhelmina, and, alas! how fleeting were the delusive joys of Chang-Wang, son of the Sun. *Propria quæ maribus.* Because women invade the forum, and crowd us from our places on the public platform, shall we, therefore, take refuge in the kitchen, or be so base as seem to know what passes in that realm of blackness and smoke? Perish the thought! The object of this paper is to present facts that are not of personal experience, are authenticated by the testimony of no single witness, and are of no private interpretation; facts which pertain to the life, not of individuals and families, but of communities and States; facts gathered by thousands of men, who had as little notion what should be the aggregate purport of their contributions, as my postman has of the tale of joy, of sorrow, or of debt, which lies snugly folded in the brown paper envelope he is leaving this moment at my door. No momentary fretfulness of a mistress overburdened with cares; no freak of insolence in a maid elated by a sudden access of lovers; no outbreak of marital indignation at underdone bread or overdone steak, can disturb the serenity of this impersonal and unconscious testimony of the census. The many millions of rays that fall confusedly upon the lens which every tenth year is held up before the nation, are cast upon the screen in one broad, unbroken beam of light, truth pure, dispassionate, uncolored.

The English census discriminates many varieties of domestic service. There are, besides the "domestic servant in gen-

eral," male or female, the "coachman," the "groom," the "gardener," all of the sterner sex; while gentle woman contributes to the list the "housekeeper," the "cook," the "housemaid," the "nurse," the "laundry-maid," and the "charwoman." All these titles are respectably filled in the census, as might be expected in a country where the distinctions of wealth are so marked, and where the household among the upper classes is organized with a completeness approaching that of the Roman *familia* under the Empire.

In the United States, however, the distinctions of domestic service have not proceeded far enough to make it worth while to maintain such a classification of rank and work; nor are the agencies provided for our census adequate to collect facts in any direction where discrimination is required. It was, indeed, attempted in the publication of the Eighth Census (1860), to preserve a few of the simpler forms. Thus "cooks" were separately reported; but the number of the class was disappointing, being but 353 for the United States; of whom 10 were found in Arkansas, 24 in Delaware, 6 in Florida, 3 in Georgia, 18 in Kansas, 14 in Kentucky, 237 in Louisiana, and 41 in Michigan. The considerable States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Massachusetts, had, if we may trust this account, no cooks in 1860. The universal consumption of raw food by such large communities cannot fail to excite the astonishment of the future historian.

The attempt to preserve the class "housekeeper" resulted in the report of a larger aggregate number than of cooks; but the distribution of that number was hardly more reasonable. Alabama, Maine, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia had none, individually or collectively. Think of several thousand "first families" of Virginia,—of the Rhetts and Barnwells, the Ruffins and Pettigrews of South Carolina,—without a housekeeper among them! The remaining States of the Union were, indeed, allowed to boast their housekeepers; but the figures were such as to excite incredulity. New Hampshire had 1,245; Connecticut, 25; Pennsylvania, 2,795; New York, 940; Massachusetts, 4,092; Michigan, 20. Still another distinction was attempted,—the

precise idea of which is not at this date manifest,—between "domestics" and "servants." Alabama had no domestics, any more than it had cooks; Arkansas had 797; California and Connecticut, none; Delaware, 1,688; Florida, 631; Georgia, Illinois, and Indiana, none; Iowa, 358; Kansas, none; Kentucky, 1,782. This completed the tale of domestics in the United States. New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, were as destitute of domestics as before the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. When it came to "servants," these States were more than made good. New York counted her 155,282; Pennsylvania, 81,233; Massachusetts, 37,464.

This brief recital will probably suffice to show the inexpediency, in the present social condition of our people, of attempting to divide the class of domestic servants according to distinctions of occupation, which are certain to be affected where they do not exist, and disregarded quite as generally where they do exist. In the further course of this paper, this class, whether at 1870 or at 1860, will, therefore, be treated as a whole, without discrimination of cook or chambermaid, butler or scullion, gorgeous flunky or simple drudge. Prior to the enumeration of 1870, it was an interesting subject of speculation whether the social and economic causes which had produced such marked effects upon the ways of business throughout the country, upon the general scale of expenditure, and upon the habits of domestic life, would be found to have increased materially the number of hired servants in families. At the South, indeed, where the negroes, who mainly supplied the domestic service of 1860, had come to own themselves, and hence to be in a position not only to demand wages, but to take on airs; where, moreover, the general impoverishment of the proprietor class, and the slow and painful recovery of industrial production necessitated the retrenchment of expenditure, it required no careful count of the people to make it certain that more persons, in proportion to population, were not employed in the offices of the household in 1870 than at the earlier date.

But of the Northern and Middle States, the reverse was reasonably to be assumed. Not only had rapid progress been

made in the upper ten thousand toward European standards of equipage and service, but it was generally claimed and admitted that the middle class of our population had made a decided movement in the same direction; that life was freer with us than it used to be, family expenditure more liberal, luxuries more widely diffused, assistance more readily commanded in all departments, industrial or domestic. Few would have ventured to predict that the results of the census would show that, while social requirements have increased on every hand; while the appetites and tastes of the household have been rendered more difficult and exacting by the diversification of the national diet, and by the popularization of foreign fruits and spices, of condiments and game; while we are everywhere taking on the semblance of greater ease and indulgence,—with these facts in view, few would have thought the tendency of the age is not more and more to place servants in the houses of the people, or believed that, however it may be with the abodes of luxury and fashion, the wives and the mothers of the great middle class are discharging their daily duties, and keeping up their outward conformity to the demands of society, with a diminishing, rather than an increasing, body of hired help. Yet such is the fact, as revealed by the count of 1870. The sixteen free States in 1860 showed 474,857 domestic servants of all descriptions. The same States, ten years later, showed but 570,054, being a gain of only 20½ per cent. Meanwhile the aggregate population of these States had increased upward of 27 per cent.

The States in which this relative decrease in the number of servants has been most marked, are the New England States, together with New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Western and Northwestern States, on the other hand, have, without exception, increased the proportion of their domestic service largely since 1860, showing that, while the commercial and manufacturing States are coming to feel the necessity of economizing in this direction of expenditure, the well-to-do inhabitants of the agricultural States are just beginning to indulge themselves somewhat freely in the luxury of being served and waited on.

Abandoning now the retrospect, and grouping the States of the Union according to the facts of the present time, we shall in our further comparisons set the number of domestic servants in each State, not against the total population, but against the number of families, as affording the best measure of the amount of service secured.

Let us turn first to the old slave-breeding States. Here, in former times, the tendency to a plethora of domestic service was very marked. "Niggers" were native and to the manor born. They represented no expenditure but that of the corn and pork necessary to bring them to the age and size and strength to perform the arduous duties of lying around on the floor or in the sun, and answering an occasional call to some personal service. In "one of the first families" cook had her legion of minor functionaries; the coachman was at the head of a little state; every member of the family, from youngest to eldest, had his or her own body-servant; while a black host of "unattached" swarmed through the house, the kitchens, the quarters, the stables, the sties, and overran the fields and roads in every direction.

Such having been the custom of the period preceding the war, we shall naturally expect to find it influencing the present situation in these States, despite impoverishment of planter and emancipation of slave, and should look to see here an excess of domestic service, due partly to an accumulation which has not had time to drain off, and partly to the force of habits deeply bred in master and in man. And so we find it. The census statistics show that in 1870 there were but 4.29 families, high and low, rich and poor, white and black, to one domestic servant in Virginia; in Kentucky, 5.58; in Delaware, 4.83; in Maryland, 4.03.

We have spoken of Virginia. This is the present State of that name. West Virginia has 11.75 families to one servant. Is anything further necessary, to a student of history, to explain the cleavage that took place during the war in the old State—the adhesion of the northwestern counties to the cause of the Union, while the southern and eastern counties followed the fortunes of that Confederacy "whose keystone was slavery," than such a contrast as is thus presented in

the statistics of domestic service in the two sections of the Virginia of 1860 ?

When we leave the slave-breeding, and turn to the slave-consuming States, the cotton, rice, and sugar-raising regions of the country, we should expect to find, and we do find, a decided change of conditions. The system of human chattelism tended to bring out the same results in the multiplication of domestic servants ; but, on the other hand, there was opposed a most substantial and emphatic resistance, in the fact that the colored population of those States was only kept up by continuous importation. Speaking broadly, every able-bodied black represented a direct outlay of from eight hundred to twelve hundred dollars. But more than this : twenty-five per cent could be realized from that investment in a single season by proper employment. Even the women and the half-grown boys represented a net productive capacity of one or two hundred dollars a year, if put into the field. Under such conditions, it was pretty certain that the number of house-hands would be kept down to the real demands either of necessity or of luxury, and not suffered to increase wantonly and wastefully to the degree of a positive nuisance, as was often the case under the good-naturedly shiftless system prevailing in the border States.

The statistics of the census bear out this view of the reason of the case. Alabama has 9.05 families to one servant ; Arkansas, 14.64 ; Florida, 9.84 ; Georgia, 6.42 ; Louisiana, 5.89 ; Mississippi, 10.54 ; South Carolina, 9.32 ; Texas, 11.28. The apparent exceptions here are Louisiana and Georgia. If, however, we exclude New Orleans, a city which belongs rather to the whole cotton-growing region than to any one State, Louisiana ceases to be an exception. New Orleans has but 2.89 families to a servant, and the remainder of the State no less than 9.83.

We have spoken of all the former slave States except three. Missouri never was more than half a slave State. The practical area of slavery was limited to less than a quarter of its soil. The number of families to a servant, in Missouri, is 10.8. If we exclude St. Louis, the number rises to 13.61. North Carolina and Tennessee have, respectively, 7.72, and

9.42 families to a servant. Their position in this respect is undoubtedly due to the fact that they lay geographically between the old slave-breeding and slave-consuming States, and, partaking in a degree of the character of both, exhibited some of the characteristics of each.

Leaving, now, the former slave States, we find among the original free States an even greater variety in the matter of domestic service. The system of human chattelism did not enter here. Domestics were no longer property, to be worked at the will of their owners. Throughout the States we are about to consider, servants were free to go or to stay; free to enter the mill and the shop, free to ask their own price, and free to be just as disagreeable as they pleased. Even the words "master" and "servant" were in some sections taken as offensive. It is evident that under such conditions, domestic service is never likely to be in excess from sheer indifference to accumulation. In such communities, servants will be employed only as the result of distinct efforts and sacrifices on the part of families to attract and retain them, bidding over the factories and the shops in respect to the amount of wages, or to ease of occupation, or both—such efforts and sacrifices becoming greater in the newer portions of the country, until, as we approach the extreme Northwest, domestic service is almost forbidden by the industrial conditions which are there found to exist. In the Middle and Eastern States we should expect to find communities employing domestic servants somewhat in proportion to the extent and success of their manufactures and commerce, the presence of a considerable city being almost inevitably indicated by an increase in this form of expenditure.

The facts revealed by the census correspond in general with great exactness to the reason of the case, as we have sought to represent it. Beginning at the extreme East, we have Maine, a State chiefly agricultural, and having no large city to bring up its average, with 11.57 families to one servant. New Hampshire, approaching in its southern parts the industrial conditions of Massachusetts, has but 9.64. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont have, respectively,

7.61, 7.44, and 7.35. If, however, we exclude New Haven and Providence, Connecticut goes up to 8.08, and Rhode Island to 9.33. Massachusetts, with a population two thirds that of the other New England States combined, has one servant to every 6.67 families. If, however, we exclude the cities of Boston and Worcester, we have for the remainder of the State but one to 8.24.

Of the States known in the geographies of our school days as the Middle States, New York has but 5.79 families to one servant; New Jersey, 6.97, and Pennsylvania, 8.01. If we exclude the seven principal cities of New York, the remainder of the State shows 7.31 families to a servant. If we exclude Philadelphia, Allegheny, and Pittsburgh, the remainder of Pennsylvania shows 9.86.

Proceeding westward, to Ohio and Michigan, we find, as we should expect, a smaller number of domestic servants in these States, the ratios being but one to 9.73 and to 9.74, respectively, or, if we exclude Cincinnati and Cleveland in Ohio, and Detroit in Michigan, but one to 10.92 and 10.31, respectively. Ohio and Michigan are, however, much older States than Illinois, which shows but one to 10.57, or, excluding Chicago, but one to 12.72. Indiana, a State of equal age, but of a more exclusively agricultural population, shows but one to 14.02 families. This is nearly the ratio of Iowa (one to 14.14). Wisconsin, with larger manufacturing interests, has one to 10.46, or, excluding Milwaukee, one to 11.26.

The six States remaining may be passed over with brief mention. California, with its great body of "Chinese cheap labor," naturally shows a large proportion of domestic service, having one servant to 8.37 families, though, if we exclude San Francisco, the remainder of the State has but one to 11.32 families, which is very close to the ratio for Nevada (one to 11.13), where, also, the Chinese element largely enters. Three of the other four States show the condition proper to pioneer communities, where luxuries are not expected, and labor is scarce and high. Nebraska has but one servant to 16.92 families; Kansas, one to 16.18; Oregon, one to 22.29. Minnesota, however, forms a distinct exception, and one not easily explained. The ratio of domestic service

here (one to 9.64 families) is precisely that of New Hampshire, and exceeds by a trifle that of Ohio. Unless the cause of this be found in the proportion of Swedes and Norwegians within the State, it must be left to some social investigator on the spot, to account for this indulgence of the far Minnesotans in the luxury of domestic service so much beyond the customs of their neighbors.

Heretofore we have had under consideration the domestic servants in the several States, and in certain important cities, in their aggregate number only.* But it may not be without interest to follow this general class into the details of its nationality, and inquire what races and countries contribute, and in what measure severally, to this total of 951,334 persons, big and little, male and female, white, black, and yellow, who minister in the households of our people.

At sight, the statements of the census in this respect appear scarcely credible. Thus, at the outset, we meet the assertion that 704,780 of the 951,334 were born within the United States. To one who has been accustomed to think of pretty much the whole body of domestic servants as of foreign birth, the first feeling must be that of incredulity. What, can it be true that all the Irish, Germans, Swedes, Canadians, and Chinese, who make so much of a figure in our daily lives, and in the literature of the time, constitute little more than one fourth of the entire number of servants ?

In the first place, of the persons employed as domestic servants, who were born in the United States, not less than 353,275 are found in the former slave States and the District of Columbia, nineteen twentieths of them being colored. This would leave but 351,059 from the old free States, including the Territories. But of the total number of domes-

* Another popular delusion, which is exploded by the census, is that Joseph Smith introduced polygamy into his religious system merely as an indirect solution of the problem of domestic service; a shrewd device, at once to keep his handmaidens under discipline, and to defraud them of their rightful wages. The census shows that, while Utah has fewer servants to population than the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Washington and Wyoming, it has more than Colorado, Dakota, Idaho and Montana.

tic servants in these States, 53,532 are males, while 34,099 are females under sixteen years of age, nearly all of whom were born here. Making deductions on these accounts, we have, in round numbers, 280,000 females, sixteen years of age and upward, natives of the country, among our domestic servants, against a somewhat smaller number of all other nationalities. But can it be true that more than one half our adult female domestic servants in the Northern States are native, are American? It is true, and it is not true. According to the strict sense of the word "native," the sense in which the census uses it, it is true; according to its popular meaning, nothing could be further from the truth. These Irish and German girls, as we are accustomed to call them, who are in our families as second girls, as nurses, and even as general servants—what proportion of them ever saw Ireland or Germany? They are, in fact, of the second generation. They are one remove from foreigners. Yet, though born among us, our general instinctive feeling testifies that they are not wholly of us. So separate has been their social life, due alike to their clannishness and to our reserve; so strong have been the ties of race and blood and religion with them; so acute has been the jealousy of their spiritual teachers toward our popular institutions,—that we speak of them, and we think of them, as foreigners.

It must be remembered that, so far back as 1850, there were resident in the United States 573,225 Germans, and 961,719 Irish, while the total number of persons of foreign birth was at that time 2,210,839. Many of these had then been residing long in the country. It is from the descendants of this class, scarcely less than out of the directly immigrating class, that our domestic service is supplied. It is clear that it will not be long before these *home-made foreigners* will far outnumber the direct immigrants, in the ranks of our domestic service. Already the children born in this country of foreign parents nearly equal those who were born abroad. Another census will see the balance strongly inclined to the side of the former class; while their preponderance in our households will undoubtedly be effected even earlier by the preference naturally given to them over new arrivals.

Of those domestic servants who were born in foreign countries, the census assigns to Ireland, 145,956; to Germany, 42,866; to British America, 14,878; to England and Wales, 12,531; to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, 11,287; to China and Japan, 5,420; to Scotland, 3,399; to France, 2,874; to all other countries, 7,343.

The States of the North and West, in which the Irish, as compared with the domestic servants of any other foreign nationality, are in excess, are Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and California; those in which the Germans are in excess, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin; those in which the Scandinavians are in excess, Kansas and Minnesota; those in which the British Americans are in excess, Michigan and Vermont; those in which the Chinese are in excess, Nevada and Oregon. The Chinese, however, very nearly approach the Irish in California, the numbers being 4,343 against 4,434. Illinois has 3,950 Scandinavians, and 5,603 Germans, against 6,346 Irish. Michigan has 1,755 Germans, and 1,748 Irish, against 2,456 Scandianvians. Ohio has 5,270 Germans, against 5,587 Irish. In Indiana, the Irish very nearly approach the Germans. In Maine, the British Americans nearly equal the Irish. In the remaining States, the preponderance of the foreign element first specified, is generally decided.

Considering the number of "French cooks" we have in this country, it may seem surprising that so few of our domestic servants should have been born in France. It is known, however, that French cooks differ from the cooks of other nationalities in this: that they may be born anywhere, and speak English with any sort of accent. Of the real Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who have entered our domestic service, the great majority, as might be anticipated, are found in towns, obeying, even on our happy soil, the strongest instinct of their people. Thirty cities have the honor to comprise 1,630 out of the total of 2,874 domestic servants born in France. Of these, 449 are found in New York, 368 in New Orleans, and 286 in San Francisco.

Two foreign elements which are likely to make an even

greater proportionate showing in the domestic service of 1880 than in that of 1870, are the Swedes and the British Americans,—if, indeed, by that time we have not gratified our national passion by annexing the New Dominion, making thus the Canadians not foreigners, but natives. Speaking broadly, the Swedes are all found west of Lake Michigan, in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The systematic efforts made to induce immigration from Sweden are not unlikely to yield considerable results in the immediate future. All the social and industrial conditions of the Northwest are natural to this people, except only as being more favorable than their own at home. The British Americans, on the other hand, are substantially all east of Lake Michigan. They have overspread, more or less densely, the New England States, have colored deeply the northern borders of New York, and form an important element in the population of the peninsula of Michigan. In the latter State and in Maine the men of this nationality are lumbermen and raftsmen; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, they are cotton spinners and shoemakers, forming, indeed, the bone and sinew of the redoubtable order of the Knights of St. Crispin. And, if ever our cooks get on a strike and go a-parading the streets with bands and banners, breathing defiance to domestic tyranny, be sure it will be because the French Canadian women among them have formed the order of Ste. Coquula.

Of the natives of the Celestial Empire who cook and wash for our people, very few have yet ventured across the Rocky Mountains. Here and there at the East, an almond-eyed angel "stands and waits" in the house of a master who is considerably more than half afraid of him, with his cat-like step, his diabolical observances, his inscrutable countenance, and his well-known toxicological accomplishments; but thus far, at least, the great domestic revolution which was heralded in the newspapers and magazines with so much noise five years ago, as about to follow the advent of the Children of the Sun, has, like many another announced revolution, failed to come off. Of the total number of 5,420 Chinese servants in the United States, 4,343 are yet to be found in California, 503 in Nevada, and 268 in Oregon.

Is the Chinaman to be the domestic servant of the future? Will another census show him stealthily supplanting the European in our households, and setting up his gods on the kitchen mantels of this Christian land? I stoutly believe not. The Chinese, whether miners or menials, are hardly more numerous in the United States than they were five years ago. "Forty centuries" have been too much for Mr. Koopmanschoop and his emigrant runners. Even when the Chinaman comes to the States, he leaves his wife and children behind him; he comes here with no thought of resting until he can rest at home; his supreme wish is ever to return to his native land; and if he be so unhappy as to die in exile, his bones at least must be borne back to sacred soil.

Surely, a great element among us is not to be built up by immigration of this kind. Masses of foreign population thus unnaturally introduced into the body politic, must sooner or later disappear, like the icebergs that drift upon the currents of our temperate seas, chilling the waters all around them, yet themselves slowly wasting away under the influence of sun and wind, having in themselves no source of supply, no spring of energy, no power of self-protection; helpless and inert amid hostile and active forces; their only part, endurance; their only possible end, extinction.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

The following fragmentary passage is taken from a manuscript lecture, a large part of which has been used in other articles.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

We can hardly take up for consideration the statistics of this subject, without a brief reference to the differing views taken by different persons, equally intelligent, and, doubtless, equally philanthropic, regarding the gainful vocations of women. Most of us, I assume, contemplating the extension of the field of employment for this sex, or an increase of numbers within the traditional field of female activity, are moved by conflicting feelings.

On the one hand, as we see women appearing for the first time in strange vocations, or as we note the steady increase of their numbers in those departments of labor which have long been familiar to them, we rejoice at this evidence of the opening of new avenues to women's labor, or of an increasing freedom of resort to the market for their labor, through the widening, levelling, and making smooth of avenues always trod by those whose lot in life imperatively requires them to earn their own livelihood.

At the same time we look, not without apprehension, at the increasing employment of women, so far as it seems to intimate a tendency either to avoid the formation of families, through promoting celibacy, or, while retaining in form the familiar domestic organization, to deprive the family of a large measure of its proper influence, through driving wife and growing daughter into the shop or mill, for the enhancement of the family income.

Those who hold this view, rejoice at the extension of woman's industrial activity, so far as this means that employment is becoming more easy and more remunerative to all that class of women who, according to the standards and social organiation of, let us say, fifty years ago, *must*

work for their own living, instead of constituting a part of a family, under a male breadwinner; but regret the enlargement of that class at the expense of the family. This view of the industrial vocations of women has been very fully and forcibly presented by the wise and benign French legislator and economist, François Le Play.

While, as I ventured to conjecture, most of us hold essentially this opinion, there are, on the one hand or the other, two schoools of social philosophers, who take widely different views of the subject.

There are those, comprising many benevolent and sagacious persons, who, while recognizing the increasing occasions for women to procure their own subsistence, are yet sorry to see even a corresponding increase in the opportunities for so doing. Charitably alive to the distress of others, and fully aware of the shame and social evil which so often follow hopeless poverty, they yet contemplate, not without complacency, a certain degree of suffering resulting from the failure of employment to women who must, in any count, earn their own livelihood, as a proper sacrifice to the interests of society as a whole, believing, sincerely, that the dependence of the woman upon a male breadwinner is not only the normal condition of society, but the only condition of social well-being, and that it is better that difficulties should attend the independent self-support of women—difficulties resulting always in hardship in the case of those compelled by the accidents of life to take this position, and resulting, naturally, here and there, in positive distress or social destruction, than that the position of independent self-support on the part of women, should be made easy and inviting; and that, thus, the formation of families should, in greater or less degree, be discouraged.

These persons believe that a very heavy burden should be put upon celibacy; they grudge to see pleasant positions of self-support opened to women; they would have the whole sex shut up to matrimony by something like a practical compulsion, arising from the need of maintenance, even though, in the case of the widowed, the orphaned, and others, deprived by the accidents of life of the patronage

and protection of a male breadwinner, suffering and shame should not infrequently result.

At the other extreme, on this question, are those whose theory of an improved and regenerated society involves an extension of the opportunities for the self-support of women which shall make them altogether independent of marriage *as a means of subsistence.*

In the view of these advanced thinkers, there has not only been, in the past, but there still remains, in spite of the changes of the century, by far too strong a pressure exerted upon woman to undertake matrimony, as a means to physical maintenance. They see that woman has become, in all well-ordered communities, practically independent of the husband as a means of protection from personal outrage, from robbery or from insult, so that, in 99 cases out of 100, in 999 out of 1,000, a woman living by herself is to-day, as free from injury or alarm, as the woman protected by the presence of the fighting animal, man.

One further advance is needed, these social philosophers reason, viz., that woman, laboring in her own right and for her own behoof, shall be as capable of providing for herself, as a man is to provide for himself and her. Such a result they deem not impossible. Looking to steam and to machinery as producing a substantial equality of condition between the strong and the weak ; looking to the constantly increasing supremacy of mental over muscular force ; looking to the continually diminishing proportion of labor employed in extractive industries (where the work of one man has a great and, indeed, insuperable natural advantage) in comparison with the labor engaged in the preparation, elaboration, and decoration of the materials so extracted, the sociologists of this school believe that the wages of women may steadily approach to those of men. Especially will this be so as women acquire greater freedom of movement, greater aggressiveness in seeking the best markets, greater self-reliance in making their bargains and maintaining their interests; as the education of girls becomes more practical in its methods and utilitarian in its aims; as law offers more steady and uniform protection to woman in her resort to the market ; as

society follows her with a warmer sympathy, and affords her that inspiration and courage which her timid and shrinking nature peculiarly requires. And this result, these philosophers would deem a matter of rejoicing, not so much, be it noted, for the sake of those who, in any case, would have been compelled, according to the standards and social organization of fifty years ago, to work for their own living; but more because such a condition of things would, by rendering women completely independent of matrimony as a means to subsistence, and even by putting something of a premium upon celibacy, something of a penalty upon matrimony, not only remove the pressure which heretofore has almost compelled women into marriage, but would even create an obstacle thereto, which should only be overcome by positive impulses, arising from very clear mutual adaptations, and very strong mutual affection.

SOCIALISM

Scribner's Magazine, VOL. 1 (1887), PP. 107–19

In January, 1886, Mr. Walker delivered a lecture on *Socialism* before the students of Phillips Exeter Academy. At the request of Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, he prepared an article on the same subject for the first number of their new magazine, which embodied essentially all that was said at Exeter, with additional matter in the way of illustration and definition. The following article is also published in *Phillips Exeter Lectures*, 1887, pp. 47–78.

SOCIALISM.

THREE words have, of recent years, become very familiar, and yet not of less and less, but of more and more, formidable sound to the good and quiet citizens of America and of Western Europe.

These words are: Nihilism, Communism, Socialism.

Nihilism, so far as one can find out, expresses rather a method, or a means, than an end. It is difficult to say just what Nihilism does imply. So much appears reasonably certain: that the primary object of the Nihilists is destruction; that the abolition of the existing order, not the construction of a new order, is in their view; that, whatever their ulterior designs, or whether or no they have any ultimate purpose in which they are all or generally agreed, the one object which now draws and holds them together, in spite of all the terrors of arbitrary power, is the abolition, not only of all existing governments, but of all political estates, all institutions, all privileges, all forms of authority; and that to this is postponed whatever plans, purposes, or wishes the confederation, or its members individually, may cherish concerning the reorganization of society.*

Confining ourselves, then, to the contemplation of Socialism and Communism, let us inquire what are the distinctive features of each.

Were one disposed to be hypercritical and harsh in dealing with the efforts of well-meaning men to express views and feelings which, in their nature, must be very vague, he might make this chapter as brief as that famous chapter devoted to

* M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, in an essay on Nihilism, says: "Under its standard we find revolutionists of all kinds—authoritarians, federalists, mutualists, and communists—who agree only in postponing, till after their triumph shall be secured, all discussion of a future organization of the world."

the snakes of Ireland: "There are no snakes in Ireland." So one might, with no more of unfairness than often enters into political, sociological, or economic controversy, say that there are no features proper to Communism as sought to be distinguished from Socialism; no features proper to Socialism as sought to be distinguished from Communism.

If, however, one will examine the literature of the subject, not for the purpose of obtaining an advantage in controversy, or of finding phrases with which malice or contempt may point its weapons, but in the interest of truth, and with the spirit of candor, he will not fail to apprehend that Communism and Socialism are different things, although at points one overlies the other in such a way as to introduce more or less of confusion into any statement regarding either.

May we not say?

1st. That Communism confines itself mainly, if not exclusively, to the one subject-matter—wealth. On the other hand, Socialism, conspicuously, in all its manifestations, in all lands where it has appeared, asserts its claim to control every interest of human society; to enlist for its purposes every form of energy.

2d. That so far as wealth becomes the subject-matter of both Communism, on the one hand, and of Socialism, on the other, we note a difference of treatment. Communism, in general, regards wealth as produced, and confines itself to effecting an equal, or what it esteems an equitable, distribution.

Socialism, on the other hand, gives its first and chief attention to the production of wealth; and, passing lightly over the question of distribution, with or without assent to the doctrine of an equal distribution among producers, it asserts the right to inquire into and control the consumption of wealth for the general good, whether through sumptuary laws and regulations or through taxation for public expenditures.

3d. That Communism is essentially negative, confined to the prohibition that one shall not have more than another. Socialism is positive and aggressive, declaring that each man shall have enough.

It purposes to introduce new forces into society and industry; to put a stop to the idleness, the waste of resources, the misdirection of force, inseparable, in some large proportion of instances, from individual initiative; and to drive the whole mass forward in the direction determined by the intelligence of its better half.

4th. While Communism might conceivably be established upon the largest scale, and has, in a hundred experiments, been upon a small scale established, by voluntary consent, Socialism begins with the use of the powers of the state, and proceeds and operates through them alone. It is by the force of law that the Socialist purposes to whip up the laggards and the delinquents in the social and industrial order. It is by the public treasurer, armed with powers of assessment and sale, that he plans to gather the means for carrying on enterprises to which individual resources would be inadequate. It is through penalties that he would check wasteful or mischievous expenditures.

If what has been said above would be found true were one studying Communism and Socialism as a philosophical critic, much more important will be the distinction between them to the eye of the politician or the statesman. Communism is, if not moribund, at the best everywhere at a standstill, generally on the wane; nor does it show any sign of returning vitality. On the other hand, Socialism was never more full of lusty vigor, more rich in the promise of things to come, than now.

Let us, then, confine ourselves to Socialism as our theme, the purpose being, not so much to discuss, as to define, characterize, and illustrate it.

A definition of Socialism presents peculiar difficulties.* The question, Socialism or non-Socialism? regarding any measure; Socialist or non-Socialist? regarding any man, is a question of degree rather than of kind. Let us, then, undertake to distinguish that quality which, when found above a certain degree, justifies and requires the application of these epithets—Socialism and Socialist.

* "I have never met with a clear definition, or even a precise description, of the term."—Émile de Lavelèye, *Socialism of To-Day.*

I should apply the term "socialistic" to all efforts, under popular impulse, to enlarge the functions of government, to the diminution of individual initiative and enterprise, for a supposed public good. It will be observed that by this definition, it is made of the essence of socialistic efforts that they should arise from popular impulse, and should seek a public good. This, it will be seen, makes the motive and the objective alike part of the character of the act—say a legislative measure—equally with the positive provisions thereof.

"To enlarge the functions of government." It may be asked, to enlarge them beyond what starting-point or line? in excess of what initial dimensions? Herein lies the main difficulty of the subject; hence arises the chief danger of misunderstanding between the writer and his reader; and it is probably to the lack of a standard measure adopted for the purpose of this discussion, that we are to attribute, more than to any other cause, the vague and unsatisfactory character of the critical literature of Socialism. As you change your starting-point in this matter of the nature and extent of government function, the same act may, in turn, come to appear socialistic, conservative, or reactionary.

A person considering the direction and force of socialistic tendencies may take, to start from, any one of an indefinite number of successive lines; of which, however, the three following are alone worth indicating:

1st. He may take a certain maximum of government functions, to be fixed by the general consent of fairly conservative, not reactionary, publicists and statesmen, adopting, perhaps, the largest *quantum* which any two or three writers, reputed sound, would agree to concede as consistent with wholesome administration, with the full play and due encouragement of individual enterprise and self-reliance, and with the reasonable exercise of personal choices as to modes of life and modes of labor; and may identify any act or measure, proposed or accomplished, as socialistic, if, under popular impulse, for a supposed public good, it transcends that line.

2d. He may take a certain minimum of government functions, which we may call the police powers.

3d. He may draw his pen along the boundary of the powers of government as now existing and exercised, perhaps in his own country, perhaps in that foreign country which he regards as the proper subject of admiration and imitation in the respect under consideration.

There is a certain advantage, as some people would esteem it, in adopting the first or the third method of determining the initial line for the purposes of such a discussion. That advantage is found in the fact that the conservative writer, placing himself on the actual or on the theoretical maximum of government functions, can treat as a public enemy every person who proposes that this line shall be overpassed; and can employ the term "socialistic," as one of rebuke, reproach, or contempt, according to his own temper. The line thus taken becomes the dividing line between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, making it easy to mark and to punish the slightest deviation.

On the other hand, he who takes as his initial line the minimum of government functions, which may, in severe strictness, be called the police powers, and regards all acts and measures enlarging the functions of government beyond this line as more or less socialistic, according as they transcend it by a longer or a shorter distance, under a stronger or a weaker impulse, cannot use that term as one of contumely or contempt, inasmuch as in every civilized country the functions of government have been pushed beyond the mere police powers.

For one, I prefer to take the line of the strict police powers of government as that from which to measure the force and direction of the socialistic movement, even if it is thereby rendered necessary to forego the great controversial advantage and the keen personal pleasure of hurling the word Socialist, in an opprobrious sense, at the head of any one who would go farther in the extension of government functions than my own judgment would approve; nay, even if I shall thereby be put to the trouble of examining any proposed act or measure on the ground of its own merits, in view of the reasons adduced in its favor, and under the light of experience.

In this sense the advocacy of a socialistic act or measure will not necessarily characterize a Socialist. Socialism will mean, not one, but many things socialistic. Thus, for example, protection is socialistic. Yet the protectionist is not, as such, a Socialist. Most protectionists are not Socialists. Many protectionists are, in their general views, as anti-socialistic as men can well be.

The Socialist, under this definition, would be the man who, in general, distrusts the effects of individual initiative and individual enterprise; who is easily convinced of the utility of an assumption, by the state, of functions which have hitherto been left to personal choices and personal aims; and who, in fact, supports and advocates many and large schemes of this character.

A man of whom all this could be said might, in strict justice, be termed a Socialist. The extreme Socialist is he who would make the state all in all, individual initiative and enterprise disappearing in that engrossing democracy of labor to which he aspires. In his view, the powers and rights of the state represent the sum of all the powers and all the rights of the individuals who compose it; and government becomes the organ of society in respect to all its interests and all its acts. So much for the Socialist.

Socialism, under our definition, would be a term properly to be applied (1) to the aggregate of many and large schemes of this nature, actually urged for present or early adoption; or (2) to a programme contemplated, at whatever distance, for the gradual replacement of private by public activity; or (3) to an observed movement or tendency, of a highly marked character, in the direction indicated.

Such would be the significance properly to be attributed to the terms Socialist and Socialism, consistently with the definition proposed to be given to the word "socialistic," viz., that which causes government functions to transcend the line of the strictly police powers.

Even this line is not to be drawn with exactitude and assurance, though it is much more plain to view than either of the other two lines which, we said, might be taken for the purposes of the present discussion. The police powers em-

brace, of course, all that is necessary to keep people from picking each other's pockets and cutting each other's throats, including, alike, punitive and preventive measures. They embrace, also, the adjudication and collection of debts, inasmuch as, otherwise, men must be suffered to claim and seize their own, which would lead to incessant breaches of the peace. They embrace, also, the punishment of slander and libel, since, otherwise, individuals must be left to vindicate themselves by assault or homicide. Whether we will or no, we must also admit the war power among those necessarily inherent in government.

Is this all which is included in the police powers ? There are several other functions, for the assumption of which by the state, the preservation of life and liberty, the protection of property, and the prevention of crime, are either cause or excuse.

Foremost among these is the care and maintenance of religious worship. It is not meant that, in all or most countries, the justification for the exercise of ghostly functions by the state is found in the utility of religious observances and services, for repressing violence and crime. But in the countries farthest advanced politically, the notion that the ruler has any divine commission to direct or sustain religious services and observances, is practically obsolete ; and, so far as this function is still performed, it is covered by the plea which has been expressed. Eminently is this true of France, England, and the United States. Few publicists, in these countries, would presume to defend the foundation of a state religion, *de novo,* as in the interest of religion itself. So far as the maintenance of existing establishments is defended, it is upon the ground that violence, disorder, and crime are thereby diminished.

Take the United States, for instance, where the only survival of a state religion is found in the exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation, equivalent to a subsidy of many millions annually. Here we find this policy defended on the ground that this constitutes one of the most effective means at the command of the state as conservator of the peace. It is claimed that the services of this agent

are worth to government more than the taxes which the treasury might otherwise collect from the smaller number of churches and missions which would survive the assessment of the ordinary taxes; and that the remaining taxpayers really pay less, by reason of the reduction in violence and crime hereby effected.

Now, in so far as this plea is a genuine one, it removes the exemption of church property from the class of socialistic measures. The prevention of violence and crime is the proper function of the state, according to the lowest view that can be taken of it; and if a certain amount of encouragement and assistance is extended to religious bodies and establishments, genuinely in this interest, no invasion of individual initiative and enterprise can properly be complained of.

Another and apparently a closely related instance of the extension of state functions is found in the promotion of popular education, either through the requirement of the attendance of pupils, or through provisions for the public support of schools, or through both these means.

Now, here we reach an instance of an impulse almost purely socialistic for the enlargement of the functions of the state. It is true that the plea of a service to government, in the way of reducing violence and crime through the influence of the public schools, is often urged on this behalf; but I, for one, do not believe that this was the real consideration and motive which, in any instance, ever actually led to the establishment of the system of instruction under public authority, or which, in any land, supports public instruction now. Indeed, the immediate effects of popular instruction in reducing crime are even in dispute.

In all its stages, this movement has been purely socialistic in character, springing out of a conviction that the state would be stronger, and the individual members of the state would be richer and happier and better, if power and discretion in this matter of the education of children were taken away from the family and lodged with the government.

Of course, it needs not to be said that this is a socialistic

movement which deserves the heartiest approval. Not the less is it essentially of that nature, differing from a hundred other proposed acts and measures, which we should all reject with more or less of fear or horror, solely by reason of its individual merits as a scheme for accomplishing good, through state action, in a field properly pertaining to individual initiative and enterprise.

There is another important extension of state functions, very marked in recent times, for which a non-socialistic excuse might be trumped up, but for which the real reason was purely and simply socialistic. This is the construction and maintenance of bridges and roads at the public expense for public uses. One might, if disposed to argue uncandidly, adduce the military services rendered by the great Roman roads; and, thereupon, might pretend to believe that a corresponding motive has led to the assumption of this function by the state in modern times. The fact is, that until within seventy, fifty, or thirty years, the bridges and roads of England and America remained, to an enormous extent, within the domain of individual initiative and enterprise. Even when the state assumed the responsibility, it was a recognized principle that the cost of construction and repair should be repaid by the members of the community in the proportions in which they severally took advantage of this provision. The man who travelled much, paid much; the man who travelled little, paid little; the man who stayed at home, paid nothing.

The movement, beginning about seventy years ago, which has resulted in making free nearly all roads and bridges in the most progressive countries, was purely socialistic. It did not even seek to cover itself by claims that it would serve the police powers of the state. It was boldly and frankly admitted that the change from private to public management and maintenance was to be at the general expense, for the general good.

Is there any other function arrogated by the state which may be claimed to be covered by the strict police powers? I think that the repression of obtrusive immorality—that is, immorality of a gross nature which obtrudes itself upon the

unwilling—may reasonably be classed as coming within the minimum of government function. Sights and sounds may constitute an assault, as well as blows; and it falls fairly within the right and duty of the state, to protect the citizens from offences of this nature.

Have we now exhausted the catalogue of things which may be claimed to be covered by the police powers of the state? I answer, No. One of the most important remains; yet one of the last—indeed, the very latest—to be recognized as possibly belonging to the state under any theory of government. I refer to what is embraced under the term "sanitary inspection and regulation."

That it was not earlier recognized as the duty of the state to protect the common air and the common water from pollution and poisoning was due, not to any logical difficulty or to any troublesome theory regarding governmental action, but solely to the fact that the chemistry of common life and the causation of zymotic diseases were of such late discovery. We now know that there is a far heavier assault than can be made with a bludgeon; and that men may, in the broad daylight, deal each other typhus, diphtheria, or smallpox more murderously than ever a bravo dealt blows with a dagger under cover of darkness. Yet, so much more are men moved by tradition than by reason, that we find intelligent citizens who have swallowed the exemption of five hundred millions of church property from taxation, on the ground that a certain *quantum* of preaching will prevent a certain *quantum* of crime, have very serious doubts about the propriety of inspecting premises which can be smelled for half a mile, and whence death may be flowing four ways, as Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates parted from Eden and "became into four heads."

I do not mean to say that I should hesitate to approve of sanitary inspection and regulation, carried to their extremes, if they were as socialistic as anything ever dreamed of by Marx or Lasalle. For such good as I see coming from this source, in the reduction of vicious instincts and appetites, in the purification of the blood of the race, in the elimination of disease, I would, were it needful, join one of Fourier's

"phalanxes," go to the barricades with Louis Blanc, or be sworn into a nihilistic circle. But in correct theory it is not necessary for the strictest adherent of the doctrine of limited powers to desert his principles in this matter. The protection of the common air and the common water comes within the police powers of the states by no forced construction, by no doubtful analogy.

Is there any important function remaining which may properly be classed among the purely police powers? I think not. Does some one say, You have not mentioned the care and support of the helpless poor? The experience of the Romans, and even the condition of the law of almost all countries of Europe in modern times, proves that this is not one of the necessary functions of a well-ordered state.

Is it said that Christian morality will not permit that the helpless poor shall suffer or, perhaps, starve? Whenever the state shall undertake to do all or any very considerable part of what Christian morality requires, it will become very socialistic indeed.

Having now beaten the bounds of the police powers, and having decided that all extension of government activity beyond those bounds is to be held and deemed socialistic, it is proposed to offer certain distinctions which appear important.

And, first, a measure is not necessarily of a strong socialistic savor merely because it implies a large, perhaps a vast, extension of the actual work of the state. Take, for example, the English government's acquisition of the telegraph lines, and its performance of the work connected therewith. This was not done under a socialistic impulse. In England the telegraph service has always been closely affiliated, in the public mind, with the postal service; and, consequently, when the former had come to be of sufficiently wide and general use to make it worth while for the state to assume the charge, it was done in the most matter-of-fact way. It was no more socialistic than the addition of a few thousands of new post-offices to the existing number would have been.

On the other hand, the assumption of a new service by the state is not relieved from the charge of being socialistic, even grossly socialistic, by the fact that such a service is closely

analogous to some other which all citizens have long agreed to place in the hands of government. Take, for example, the matter of "free ferries," which has been mooted in Boston and in New York, and doubtless elsewhere. This proposition has always been greeted by conservative men of all parties as highly and dangerously socialistic; and yet the analogy between free ferries and bridges free from toll is very strong. A ferry-boat is little other than a section of a bridge, cut away from moorings, and propelled backward and forward by steam; and it may conceivably cost less, and create less disturbance to navigation, to use the latter than the former means. For instance, it might cost two millions of dollars to throw an adequate bridge from Boston to East Boston, for the transit of passengers and freight. But suppose the point is raised that the bridge will interfere continually with the use of the harbor, to an extent involving immense losses to trade, and that the amount proposed to be expended upon the bridge would pay for the construction and operation of a line of ferry-boats. Is not the analogy close? And yet I agree with the objectors in this case, that the establishment of free ferries would be a long and dangerous step toward Socialism.

Even where the new function appears to be only the logical carrying out and legitimate consequence of another function well approved, there may be a step toward Socialism involved in such an extension of the state's activity and responsibility.

In illustration, I might mention the matter of free text-books in our public schools. Public provision for gratuitous elementary education, although manifestly socialistic within our meaning of that term, has come to be fully accepted by nearly all citizens as right and desirable. In discharging this duty, the state, at immense expense, builds and furnishes schoolhouses, employs teachers and superintendents, buys supplies, and gives each boy or girl the use of a desk. Yet the proposition to make the use of text-books free, has met with violent opposition; has been defeated at many points; and wherever it has been carried, is still regarded by many judicious persons as a very dangerous innovation. Yet, as has been shown, this measure seems to be but the logical

carrying out and legitimate consequence of a function already assumed by practically unanimous consent.

Still another distinction has become necessary of recent years, and that is between the assumption by the state of functions which would otherwise be performed wholly or mainly by individuals, and those which would otherwise be performed wholly or mainly by corporations. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the relation of the state to the corporation.

One further distinction it may be well to suggest, viz., that the vast importance, even the absolutely vital necessity, of a service, whether to the community at large or to the subsisting form of government, does not, by itself, constitute a reason for the performance of that function by the state. Let me illustrate. In his address, as President of the Association for the Advancement of Science, at Aberdeen, in 1859, Prince Albert said : "The state should recognize in science one of the elements of its strength and prosperity, to foster which the clearest dictates of self-interest demand." Last year, Sir Lyon Playfair, in his address as President of the Association, quotes these words, and enforces the same thought. Yet it does not follow, from the importance of science to the state, that science should be directly fostered or supported by government. It might conceivably be that science would do its work for the state better if the state itself did nothing for science, just as many persons who hold that religion is essential not only to the peace and happiness of communities but even to the existence of well-ordered governments, yet hold that the state can do nothing so beneficial to religion as to let it completely and severely alone.

Still another class of considerations must be borne in mind in measuring the extent of the socialistic advance involved in any given extension of the functions of government. These are considerations which arise out of the peculiar genius of a people, politically, socially, industrially. A certain act, or measure, which would be a monstrous invasion of personal liberty and individual activity in one country, would be the merest matter of course in another. The natural aptitudes, the prevailing sentiments, the institutions, great and

small, the political and economic history of a nation, have all to be taken into account in deciding how far an extension of the powers of government in a given direction indicates socialistic progress.

Yet, while this is true, there will be observed some very strange contradictions in the adoption, in certain countries, of principles of legislation and administration which cross, in an unaccountable way, the general spirit of their people.

Thus England, whose population is decidedly the most strongly anti-socialistic in the world, was for hundreds of years the only country in Europe in which was formally acknowledged the right, the complete legal right, of any and every man to be supported by the state, if he could not, or did not, find the means of his own subsistence.

From the foregoing definition and distinctions let us proceed briefly to characterize certain measures of a socialistic nature, proposed or advocated by men who are not Socialists; who neither avow nor would admit themselves to be such; who, accepting, on the whole, the sufficiency of individual initiative and enterprise to achieve the good of society, have yet their scheme, or budget of schemes, for the general welfare, which would operate by restricting personal liberty and by substituting public for private activity. Time would not serve to canvass the merits or defects of these schemes as measures for accomplishing certain specific social objects. We can only dwell upon each, in turn, long enough to indicate its individual character as more or less socialistic.

(1) The most familiar of schemes for promoting the general welfare, by diminishing the scope of individual initiative and enterprise, is that known by the name of Protection to local or, as it is in any locality called, native industry.

Protectionism is nothing if not socialistic. It proposes, in the public interest, to modify the natural course of trade and production, and to do this by depriving the citizen of his privilege of buying in the cheapest market. Yet the protectionist is not, therefore, to be called a Socialist, since the Socialist would not only have the state determine what shall be produced, but he would have the state itself undertake the work of production. It is not my purpose to discuss pro-

tection as a scheme for accomplishing its professed object. Indeed, I should have had occasion to bestow upon it but a single word, merely to characterize it as a socialistic measure, were it not for the conviction that the forces of the age are tending strongly in this direction. In my judgment, we are on the eve of a great protectionist agitation.

And the demand for the so-called protection of native industry is to be a popular one in a degree never before known. In England the restrictive system of the earlier period had been imposed by privileged classes, and was broken down by a truly popular uprising. In the United States the history of the restrictive system has been different. My esteemed friend, Professor Sumner, took the platform, three years ago, with the avowed purpose of attacking protectionism, no longer as inexpedient, but as immoral; and he proceeded, with a vigor which no other writer or speaker on applied economics in this country has at command, to stigmatize the forces which have initiated and directed our tariff legislation, as all selfish and false and bad. Now, I cannot go with Professor Sumner in this. Fully recognizing that our successive tariffs have largely been shaped by class or sectional interests, with, at times, an obtrusion of mean motives which were simply disgusting, as in 1828, I am yet constrained to believe that the main force which has impelled Congress to tariff legislation has been a sincere, if mistaken, conviction that the general good would thereby be promoted. Yet, after all, it has been the employing, not the laboring, class which has conducted the legislation, maintained the correspondence, set up the newspapers, paid the lobby, in the tariff contests of the past.

The peculiarity of the new movement is that it is to owe its initiative and its main impulse to the laboring class.

What strikes me as most important, with regard to the future, is the consideration that, while protectionism is to become a dogma and a fighting demand of the out-and-out Socialists everywhere, it would be in a consummated system of protection that the rampant, aggressive, and destructive Socialism, which is such an object of terror to many minds, would find an insurmountable barrier. Socialism can never

be all we dread, unless it become international; but the consummation of protectionism is the destruction of internationalism.

(2) Another threatened invasion of the field of industrial initiative and enterprise is through laws affecting labor, additional to the body of factory legislation now generally accepted.

There is not a feature in the existing body of factory legislation in England which owes its introduction to political forces set in motion by mill and factory operatives. Even in the United States, except solely in the instance of that piece of wretched demagogism known as the Eight-hour Law, passed by Congress without any intention that it should be enforced, our labor legislation has not, in general, been due to the efforts of the operative classes as such, but to the general conviction of the public mind, that so much, at least, was fair and just and wise. The labor legislation now impending is not intended to abide the decision of an impartial jury. It is asserted, by those who claim especially to represent the interests of labor, that their class are about to undertake to carry, by sheer weight of numbers, measures, to few of which could they hope to obtain the assent of the disinterested portion of the community.

Surely we have here a very grave situation. It may be that the power of wealth and trained intellect, superior dialectical ability, the force of political and parliamentary tactics, with the conservative influence of the agricultural interest, would, in any case, defeat legislation hostile to the so-called interests of capital. Doubtless, too, we of the class who are disposed to maintain the *status*, underrate the moderation, self-control, and fairness likely to be exercised by the body of laborers. Yet it is not easy to rid one's self of the apprehension that this new species of socialistic legislation will be carried so far, at least under the first enthusiasm of newly acquired power, as seriously to cripple the industrial system. He must be a confirmed pessimist who doubts that, sooner or later, after however much of misadventure and disaster, a *modus vivendi* will be established, which will allow the employing class to reassume and reassert something like

their pristine authority over production—unless, indeed, this harassment of the employer is to be used as a means of bringing in the *régime* of co-operation, so ardently desired by many economists and philanthropists as the ideal industrial system. If this is to be so, there will not be lacking a flavor of poetic justice, so far as the American manufacturer is concerned.

The advocate of co-operation, appealing to the admittedly vast advantages which would attend the successful establishment of the scheme of industrial partnership, might say that thus far co-operative enterprises have not succeeded because, with small means, they have had their experiments to make, their men to test and to train, their system to create. Let us, he would continue, handicap the long-established, highly organized, well-officered, rich, and powerful entrepreneur system, so that vast bodies of goods, made with the highest advantages from wealth, capital, and organization, may not be poured out upon the market in floods, to sweep away the feeble structures of newly undertaken co-operative enterprises. Let the community consent, for the general good, to pay a somewhat higher price, as the consideration for the establishment of a system which will, in the result, not only secure a larger creation of wealth, but will settle the questions of distribution, promote good citizenship, and forever banish the spectre of Socialism from the world !

(3) Other measures of a socialistic nature, strongly urged at the present time, have in view the control by government of the ways and agencies of transportation and communication. All over Europe the telegraph service has been assumed by the state ; and, to a large extent, the railroads also have come under government ownership or management. In some degree this has been due to the suggestions and promptings of military ambition, but in a larger degree, probably, it expresses the conviction that all railroad service "tends to monopoly"; and that, therefore, alike fiscal and military reasons and the general interest unite in dictating that the monopolist shall be the state.

On the continent of Europe the state's acquisition of these agencies of transport, so far as it has gone, has not been due to popular impulse ; the management of the roads so ac-

quired has suited well the bureaucratic form of government, while the thoroughness and efficiency of the civil service has, in the main, secured good administration.

Here or in England, on the other hand, such an extension of the powers of the state would have a very different significance, a significance most portentous and threatening; while even the regulation of railroad management, except through the establishment of effective and summary tribunals for the correction of manifest and almost uncontested abuses, would, according to my individual judgment, be highly prejudicial, and even pernicious, upon anything resembling our present political system.

(4) Still another suggested enlargement of public activity is in the direction of exercising an especial oversight and control over industrial corporations, as such.

The economic character of the industrial corporation very much needs analysis and elucidation. A work on this subject is a desideratum in political economy. So little has the economic character of this agent been dwelt upon, that we find reviews and journals of pretension, and professional economists in college chairs, speaking of legislation in regulation of such bodies, as in violation of the principle of *laissez-faire*. But the very institution of the industrial corporation is for the purpose of avoiding that primary condition upon which, alone, true and effective competition can exist.

Perfect competition, in the sense of the economist, assumes that every person, in his place in the industrial order, acts by himself, for himself, alone; that whatever he does is done on his own instance, for his own interest. Combination, concert, cohesion, act directly in contravention of competition.

Now, combination will enter, more or less, to affect the actions of men in respect to wealth. But such combinations are always subject to dissolution, by reason of antagonisms developed, suspicions aroused, separate interests appearing; and the expectation of such dissolution attaches to them from their formation. The cohesion excited, as between the particles of the economic mass which the theory of competition assumes to be absolutely free from affiliations and

attractions, is certain to be shifting and transitory. The corporation, on the other hand, implies the imposition of a common rule upon a mass of capital which would otherwise be in many hands, subject to the impulses of individual owners. But it is because the hand into which these masses of capital are gathered is a *dead hand,* that the deepest injury is wrought to competition.

The greatest fact in regard to human effort and enterprise is the constant imminence of disability and death. So great is the importance of this condition, that it goes far to bring all men to a level, in their actions as industrial agents. The man of immense wealth has no such superiority over the man of moderate fortune, as would be indicated by the proportion of their respective possessions. To these unequals is to be added one vast common sum, which mightily reduces the ratio of that inequality. The railroad magnate, master of a hundred millions, leaning forward in his eagerness to complete some new combination, falls without a sign, without a groan ; his work forever incomplete ; his schemes rudely broken ; and at once the fountain of his great fortune parts into many heads, and his gathered wealth flows away in numerous streams. No man can buy with money, or obtain for love, the assurance of one hour's persistence in his chosen work, in his dearest purpose. Here enters the state and creates an artificial person, whose powers do not decay with years ; whose hand never shakes with palsy, never grows senseless and still in death ; whose estate is never to be distributed ; whose plans can be pursued through successive generations of mortal men.

I do not say that the services which corporations render do not afford an ample justification for this invasion of the field of private activity. I am far from saying that, whatever injuries one might be disposed to attribute to the unequal competition between natural and artificial persons, thus engendered, the evil would be cured by state regulation and control. Government will never accomplish more than a part of the good it intends ; and it will always, by its intervention, do a mischief which it does not intend. My sole object is to point out how deeply the industrial corporation

violates the principle of competition, and how absurd it is to claim for it the protection of *laissez-faire!*

(5) Another direction in which progress toward Socialism has been made, of late years, is in respect to the housing of the poor. In the first instance, and this was but a few years ago, the measures proposed to this end were covered by a plea which veiled its socialistic character. Here, it was said, is a railway entering a city. By authority of law it blazes its way over the ruins of hundreds or thousands of working men's houses. At least, let the government repair the wrong it has done! Let it put the working men where they were before this exertion of authority. In like manner parks are created for the public good, narrow streets are widened into magnificent boulevards, always through the destruction of hundreds of humble homes. In like manner, again, the state, in a proper care for the life or health of its citizens, condemns certain dwellings as unsanitary, and orders them torn down. But what of the men, the women, and the children, who, with their scanty furniture and ragged bundles, crouch homeless on the sidewalk as the officers of the law do their work?

But the demand for the exertion of the powers and resources of the state in the housing of the poor, has not stopped upon this initial line. The views of many persons of high intelligence, in no way Socialists, have advanced, during a few years of discussion, to the conviction that the state has a large and positive part to perform in respect to the habitation of its citizens. It is not in contemplation that the state shall build all the houses in the land; nor, on the other hand, is provision for the pauper class at all in view. What is intended is that the state shall set the standard for the minimum of house accommodation which is consistent with health and decency; building houses enough to provide, in the simplest and cheapest manner, for all who cannot do better for themselves elsewhere; and thereafter to wage relentless war on all "shanties," "rookeries," and "beehives" used for human habitation; to pull down all that stand, and to prevent the erection of any resembling them in the future.

Of course, the virtue of this scheme, from the point of view of any one, however favorably disposed, who is not a professed Socialist, would depend on the simplicity and sincerity with which the principle of the minimum of accommodation was adhered to. The moment the state began building houses for any one above the poorest of self-supporting workmen, it would not only double and quadruple the certain cost and the liability to evil consequences, but it would be taking a monstrous step toward Socialism. In undertaking such a scheme a state would, in effect, say, there is a class of our citizens who are just on the verge of self-support. The members of this class are, in the matter of house accommodation, almost absolutely helpless; they must take what they can find; they cannot build their own houses; they cannot go out in the country to make their home; that is reserved for the fortunate of their class; they cannot protest effectually against foul and dangerous conditions. Nay, the miserable liability is, that they should, after being crowded down into the mire of life, become indifferent to such conditions themselves, ready, perhaps, to join the mob that pelts the health officer on his rounds.

In regard to this class the state may proceed to say that neither Christian charity nor the public interest will tolerate the continuance of the utterly hideous and loathsome condition of things which disfigures the face of civilization. The rookeries shall be pulled down, the slums shall be cleaned out, once and forever. For the pauper there shall be a cot in the wards of the workhouse, with confiement for all, separation of sexes, and compulsory labor for the able-bodied. For every man who is trying to earn his living there shall be an apartment at a very low rent, graded to correspond with the lowest of private rents, in buildings owned by the state, or built and used under state inspection and control. Lower than this the man shall not go, until he passes into the wards of the workhouse. He may do what he pleases in respect to his clothes, his food, his drink; but in this matter of habitation he shall live up to the standard set by the state. He shall not make the home of his family a hot-bed for scarlet fever and diphtheria; he

shall not, even if he likes it, live in quarters where cleanliness and decency would be impossible.

Regarding this scheme I have only to say, that if we are not disposed to look favorably on a proposition that the state should undertake an enterprise so new and large and foreign to our political habits (and I sincerely trust no American would be disposed to favor it), let us not shelter ourselves behind the miserable mockery of the economic harmonies, as applied to the very poor of our large cities. To assert a community of interest between the proprietor of a rookery, reeking with every species of foulness, and the hundreds of wretched human animals, who curl themselves up to sleep in its dark corners, amid its foul odors, is to utter a falsehood so ghastly, at once, and so grotesque, as to demand both indignation and ridicule.

(6) The last of the socialistic measures to which I shall advert is the proposal for the nationalization of the land.

Now, I think I hear one half my readers exclaim, "The nationalization of the land! Surely, that is Communism, and Communism of the rankest sort, and not Socialism at all!" while the other half say, "Socialistic indeed! Well, if the man who advocates the nationalization of the land is not to be called a Socialist out and out, whom shall we call Socialists?" To these imagined expressions of dissent I reply, that the project for the nationalization of the land, as explained by John Stuart Mill, for example, has not the faintest trace of a communistic savor; and secondly, while it is highly socialistic, the man who advocates it is not for that reason alone to be classed as a Socialist, since he may be one who, in all other respects, holds fully and strongly to individual initiative enterprise in industry. He might, conceivably, be so strenuous an advocate of *laissez-faire* * as to oppose factory acts, public education, special immunities and privileges to savings-banks, or even free roads and bridges, as too socialistic for his taste.

There is a substantially unanimous consent among all pub-

* The name of Mr. Henry George appears on the lists of the New York Free Trade Club.

licists,* that property in land stands upon a very different basis from property in the products of labor.

Nothing has ever been adduced to break the force of Mr. Mill's demonstration, that a continually increasing value, in any progressive state, is given to the land through the exertions and sacrifices of the community as a whole.

If private property in land has been created, and has been freed from the obligation to contribute that unearned increment to the treasury, this has been done solely as a matter of political and economic expediency. The man who proposes that, with due compensation for existing rights, all future enhancement of the value of land, not due to distinct applications of labor and capital in its improvement, shall go to the state, by such fiscal means as may be deemed most advantageous to all concerned, is not to be called a Communist. He only claims that the community as a whole shall possess and enjoy that which the community as a whole has undeniably created. The Communist is a man who claims that the community shall possess and enjoy that which individuals have created.

So far as England and the United States are concerned, the project for the nationalization of the land, notwithstanding the tremendous uproar it has created, especially in the former country, does not appear to me in any high degree formidable. Doubtless in England, where an aristocratic holding of the land prevails, this agitation will induce serious efforts to create a peasant proprietorship. It is, also, not improbable that the discussion regarding the tenure of the soil will lead to additional burdens being imposed upon real estate. Yet the advantages attending private owner-

* "Sustained by some of the greatest names—I may say, by every name of the first rank in political economy, from Turgot and Adam Smith to Mill—I hold that the land of a country presents conditions which separate it economically from the great mass of the other objects of wealth—conditions which, if they do not absolutely, and under all circumstances, impose upon the state the obligation of controlling private enterprise in dealing with land, at least explain why this control is, in certain stages of social progress, indispensable, and why, in fact, it has been constantly put in force whenever public opinion or custom has not been strong enough to do without it."—*Prof. John E. Cairnes.*

ship, notwithstanding the admitted fact that the system sacrifices, in its very beginning, the equities of the subject-matter, are so manifest, so conspicuous, so vast, that there seems little danger that the schemes of Messrs. Mill, Wallace, and George will ever come to prevail over the plain, frank, blunt common sense of the English race.

The important question remains, In what spirit shall we receive and consider propositions for the further extension of the state's activity?

Shall we antagonize them from the start, as a matter of course, using the term "socialistic" freely, as an objurgatory epithet, and refusing to entertain consideration of the special reasons of any case?

When we consider what immense advantages have, in some cases, resulted from measures purely socialistic, are we altogether prepared to take a position of irreconcilable and undistinguishing hostility to every future extension of the state's activity? May we not believe that there is a leadership, by the state, in certain activities, which does not paralyze private effort; which does not tend to go from less to more; but which, in the large, the long, result, stimulates individual action, brings out energies which would otherwise remain dormant, sets a higher standard of performance, and introduces new and stronger motives to social and industrial progress?

For myself, I will only say, in general, that while I repudiate the assumption of the economic harmonies which underlies the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, and while I look with confidence to the state to perform certain important functions in economics, I believe that every proposition for enlarging the powers and increasing the duties of the state should be long and closely scrutinized; that a heavy burden of proof should be thrown upon the advocates of every such scheme; and that for no slight, or transient, or doubtful object should the field of industrial activity be trenched upon in its remotest corner. There is something in the very name of liberty to which the heart of man responds; freedom itself thus becomes, in a certain sense, a force, and those who thoroughly believe in individual initiative and enterprise are the

best and safest judges of the degree to which restraint may, on account of the imperfections of human society and the hardness of men's hearts, require, in any given time and place, to be imposed upon the choices and actions of citizens.

That enlarging the powers of government at any point where, after due deliberation, it abundantly appears that, in spite of the reasonable preference for preserving individual activity, a large practical gain to the order of society and the happiness of its constituent members will, in the long result, accrue from the interposition of the state ; that dealing thus with projects of social and economic reform will, as so many seem to fear, only arouse in the mass of the people a passion for further and further encroachments, and push society more and more rapidly on toward an all-engrossing Socialism —I do not believe. It is the plea of despots that they cannot remit impositions, redress wrongs, or promote reforms, without awakening dangerous aspirations in their subjects and provoking them to ever-increasing demands.

To no such slavish dread of doing right are free nations subjected. It is the glorious privilege of governments of the people, by the people, for the people, that they derive only strength and added stability from every act honestly and prudently conceived to promote the public welfare. In such a state every real and serious cause of complaint which is removed becomes a fresh occasion for loyalty, gratitude, and devotion.

THE SOCIALISTS

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THE SOCIALISTS.

Our subject is the Socialists, not Socialism. To most of us it is only the former that give interest to the latter. Little, indeed, should we care for Socialism, but for the belief that there are millions of Socialists, and that this body is increasing in numbers, in thoroughness of organization, and in agressiveness of disposition. In the present paper we shall not discuss the tenets and the purposes of the Socialists, but shall consider them as a party threatening the peace and the existing order in society and industry.

Who, then, are the Socialists? Whoever else may be Socialists, in the sense in which that word is now commonly used and is soon to be exclusively used, a certain class of persons, called by that title, and even avowing themselves such, are not. I refer to the so-called Socialists of the Chair, of Germany, and of countries in close intellectual communication with Germany. Whether it be mere defiance of public opinion, or a generous championship of a persecuted class, or a business-like computation of the advantages to be gained in the discussion of certain vitally important social and economic questions, by sharply striking the public mind, that has induced many of the most eminent publicists and economists of continental Europe to assume the title, they are not Socialists, for all that.

Among themselves, the members of this party differ widely. Some go rather farther in their invocation of state authority than good conservative Americans; while others offer a budget of reforms to be effected by legislation, in respect of mill and factory labor, savings-banks, friendly societies, trades-unions, etc., which is no larger than the existing body of British legislation on these subjects. The Socialism of such men as Roscher, Hildebrand, Knies, Schmoller, Bren-

tano, and Schönberg, or even Wagner, Samter, and von Scheel, is simply a protest against extreme individualism; it contemplates a state of things in which the harsh action of selfish interests shall be qualified by the play of benevolent social forces, and, here and there, for sound practical reasons, by the official action of organized political bodies.

Of the eminent professors I have named, one advocates the nationalization of the land; another advocates the acquisition by government, not of all real estate, but of all real estate in cities and towns. Otherwise, none of these leaders of the Socialists of the Chair occupies a position much, if any, more advanced than, for example, that of the late Prof. Stanley Jevons, of England, in their repudiation of individualism gone mad, in their protest against *laissez-faire* as a principle of universal application, in their demand for the intervention of the state to accomplish certain much-needed reforms and to protect the laboring classes against the stress of a competition to which they are hopelessly unequal.

That which characterizes the proper Socialist is a distrust or dislike of competition as an agency for distributing the products of industry, or a distrust or dislike of the organization of industrial society into producing classes,—a distrust, a dislike, so deep as to induce the purpose to break down what is termed the "capitalistic system," by giving to the state the initiative in production, wholly or generally, and the sole or chief control of all industrial enterprise.

No man, however wild or dangerous the individual schemes of social, political, or industrial innovation which he cherishes, is properly to be called a Socialist, or, at any rate, one of "the Socialists," whose purposes and plans would leave intact the present organization of industrial society into producing classes; and would leave the distribution of the product of industry to be effected by the action of competition. I say "whose purposes and plans," for no man, again, is to be called a Socialist merely because he entertains glowing views of human progress in a distant future; or by reason of any theoretical notions which do not prompt him, or which would not, in any fairly probable contingency, lead him to action to realize those notions. Such a man

may perhaps be called a sympathizer with Socialism ; he is not a Socialist, or, at any rate, he is not one of "the Socialists."

For the purposes of our present discussion it is not needful to deal separately with the two great divisions of European Socialists ; the one aiming at concentrating, in the government of the wider state, all authority and initiative in regard to production ; the other presenting, as the true industrial unit, a highly localized body, the Commune. This difference would be a most important one, were we considering the means by which the socialistic purpose might be carried into effect ; but with reference to the object of this paper it is a mere matter of detail.

Nor do I think it necessary to deal separately with the so-called Collectivists, who, according to their programme, propose to unite the advantages of private enterprise with the anticipated benefits of state control, through retaining in the community the ownership of all the instruments of production, factories, shops, and tools, while conceding to co-operative societies of workmen the management and conduct of the actual operations. It appears to me plain that Collectivism signifies nothing but the shrinking back of the more thoughtful and judicious Socialists at the closer contemplation of the difficulties and evil possibilities attendant on the abolition of individual activity and responsibility in production ; and that such a compromise system, if it were to be carried farther than would be implied in a moderate aid, encouragement, and subsidy extended by the state to ordinary co-operative enterprises, would inevitably pass, by a rapid process, though after enormous loss of resources, into full and unqualified Socialism, involving both state ownership and state operation of the industrial plant.

That there should be dissatisfaction, deep and wide, with the results of the existing organization of industry in Europe, is not surprising. Prior to the capitalistic era, which may, with almost scientific accuracy, be called the age of steam, the vast majority of the people were engaged in agriculture, or rendered personal and professional services to those who were thus engaged. At the time to which we refer, the

mediæval structure of industrial society was virtually intact. The land had not yet come to be regarded solely as an agent of production. Although private property in the soil had long been instituted, the population that lived upon the land had yet as real and almost as permanent relation to it as had the primitive Aryan communities. Over large parts of Europe, indeed, the cultivating class were serfs, bound to render to the lord a weekly service, which always was hard, and doubtless was often made unnecessarily severe by the exactions of greedy power. Yet at least they had a place in which to live and work; they knew where their doubtless scanty food was to come from; they no more truly belonged to the land than the land, for the purposes of their meagre subsistence, belonged to them. In happier realms the peasantry held the land, under whatever form of tenure, with a virtual security of possession. Between them and the lord were mutual obligations, recognized by law or custom, of service and of protection, which were of the essence of their relationship.

Even the mechanic arts of the Middle Ages were prosecuted under the rule, not of individualism, but of feudalism. The guilds comprised both employers and employed; and alike the rules of the craft and the natural conditions of industry, in its then stage of development, bound together master, journeyman, and apprentice, often in one family, under one roof, where the rights and duties of each were well understood and defined. During the two centuries which followed the first influx of silver from the mines of the New World, the feudal organization of manufacturing industries was in some degree strained and broken; but the substance of the mediæval system of production remained until, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and an industrial deluge followed the application of steam-power to manufactures. At once the barriers of the old system were levelled to the ground by the tremendous force which had been invoked. Petty crafts became giant industries; new industries, before unnamed, sprang into life, full grown; the members of the old guilds were left to eat their annual dinners, and keep up their sol-

emn forms, in lonesome state, while that which had been their work was done in vast factories, by throngs of operatives, under strange masters. In this condition the workman no longer held a place which belonged to him of right and in permanency. His relations to his class were completely broken up. Any one of his former comrades might, at any time, underbid him in the market for labor. Each for himself, became the universal principle of industrial life. It does not need to be added into whose hands the hindmost should fall.

On the other hand, the pre-existing relations between master and man were as rudely and thoroughly destroyed. The employer was no longer one who had, as apprentice, lived in the family of a kindly old master; becoming, in due course, a journeyman, and at last, in the ripeness of years, himself master. The employer, under the new *régime*, was an altogether different being. He was a man of commercial instincts, of high executive ability, daring, cool, resolute, strict in discipline, fertile in expedients; who could command the use of the vast bodies of capital demanded by the new conditions of industry; and who looked upon the mass of workmen who flocked to his gates much as he did upon the materials and supplies brought into his mill. These men came, he knew not whence; they might go to-morrow, he would not know whither. One thing they had to do for him: to work, upon what he pleased, in precisely the way they were bidden. One thing he had to do for them: to pay their wages. That done, all was done.*

Such was the revolution which was effected, all at once, in the industrial system of Europe. The political revolution, which coincided with it in time, failed, because it was found that men long accustomed to independence and vasalage could not, by a mere decree, be made fit for self-government. But no suspected analogy between politics and economics seems to have troubled the minds of the philosophers of that day. The very men who were most confident that

* An admirable study of this character is found in Robert Moore, in Charlotte Brontë's novel, *Shirley*.

the masses were unfit to govern themselves politically, were often those who had least hesitation in accepting the complete competency of the laborer to take the entire responsibility of his own career. For this the laborer required no novitiate ; this was not something to which he must come by slow degrees ; the state need take no care that he should not suffer injuries against which his uninstructed sense would not warn him, which his unaided strength would be insufficient to ward off.

The first effects of the substitution, in industry, of unqualified individualism for feudalism, in England, then, as now, the greatest industrial nation of the world, were simply hideous. The laboring men of that generation had not been admitted to political franchises ; they were not merely illiterate and ignorant, they were, as a rule, not even inquisitive ; social ambition they had none ; nor tastes, beyond the mere filling of the belly. Withal they had that destructive appetite for strong drink which it has pleased conservative philosophers to attribute to human nature, but which, we now know, is largely due to unsanitary conditions of living.

Small wonder is it that that followed which is to be read in some of the most distressing chapters of the long, long history of "man's inhumanity to man." Children were found working in the factories of England at three years of age ; the hours of labor were whatever the master chose, generally fourteen, sometimes seventeen ; the air was foul with pollution or loaded with particles whose chemical or mechanical action induces early death ; unfenced and unguarded machinery murdered and mangled thousands every year.

Time will not serve to tell the other story, as glorious as that was shameful : how a few brave Englishmen fought that series of Parliamentary battles which resulted in the enactment of the factory laws of England, which will remain, to all time, an example of what, in a true Socialism, a state may do to restrain human greed and to support human infirmities, while leaving individual initiative and enterprise, for all good and beneficent purposes, to operate unchecked.

But it is not solely by legislation specially directed to the

conditions of factory labor, that the statesmen of England have sought to remove the evils of an unequal competition. They have undertaken to prepare the labor class for that competition, by repealing the acts against combinations of workmen; by conferring upon them political franchises and inviting them to participate in the deliberation and decision of public affairs; by removing the tax on newspapers and providing cheap postage; by the registration of "friendly societies" and the creation of savings-banks; and, finally, by the establishment of a universal system of public education.

Morevover, the repudiation of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, as applied to the condition of the most wretched and helpless portion of the community, was not confined to the action of the legislature. The "duties of capital" were eloquently expounded by writers of the highest reputation; and were illustrated, in action, by the conduct of large employers, in generous provision made for the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare of their people. A public sentiment was created which demanded the same considerate treatment of workmen in mills and factories which had always been accorded by landlords in England to the tillers of the soil. Meanwhile, the laboring classes, left free by the repeal of the combination acts, in 1825, and acquiring self-confidence and mutual reliance through association and discussion, were able to offer an increasingly effective competition, upon their side. From all these causes, it came to pass that the English mechanics and operatives of the later day were, in the respect of their ability to maintain themselves in competition with the master class, as different from the corresponding classes during the first fifty years of the age of steam, as if they had been a different species of animal.

On the continent of Europe, the original endowment and qualification of the working class for the unceasing struggle into which they were swept by the breaking down of the old feudalistic barriers was, in some cases greater, and in other cases less; generally, however, less, and often far less, than in England; but nowhere were the remedial and protective measures so quickly and thoroughly applied. It was

not until 1864, for example, that the legislature of France repealed the laws which made illegal all combinations of workmen, even though free from violence; while it was but slowly, and, at the best, partially, that the provisions of the English factory acts were copied by the nations of the Continent. Hence it is that, relatively to the extent and intensity of the industrial movement, the injuries inflicted by the competition of the individualistic system have been deeper and more grievous than in England. It is to this fact, taken in conjunction with the greater aptness and readiness of the continental European, than of the Englishman, to submit to authority, and to seek relief from his woes from government, that the party we call Socialists owes its recent and remarkable growth, in numbers, zeal, and activity, on the continent of Europe. A great deal of suffering from the effects of unequal competition might not drive an Englishman to appeal to his government for protection and aid. A very slight sense of the evils of competition will suffice to send a Frenchman, a German, or an Italian clamoring to the door of the magistrate, and lead him to enter his name upon the roll of a socialistic club. I regard Socialism in England as simply impossible. The unceasing control over personal choices and personal actions, by which alone Socialism could even begin to operate in practice, would be intolerable to Englishmen, high or low, rich or poor, refined or brutal.

When we pass to the continent of Europe we find a most acute cause of inflammation, which has of recent years set in, to aggravate the disorders of the industrial system. Long after the individualistic era had opened for all the mechanical vocations, the agricultural population experienced in only a faint degree the invasion of the commercial spirit. Within the last twenty years, however, the almost incredible cheapening of transportation, by land and by sea, which has brought the food products of America into the depths of the Austrian Tyrol, has broken down the barriers which had previously afforded local protection to the peasantry of large sections of Europe, and has brought them under the full weight of that tremendous competition long

ago experienced by the mechanical classes. This condition of things has re-enforced the proper Socialists by vast masses of dissatisfied and unhappy agriculturists, all over Europe. It is evident, however, that this is a phase of agrarianism rather than of proper Socialism.

Socialism, from the nature of the case, must be a matter that affects city and town populations alone. No detailed scheme that would not be on its face preposterous can be devised, which will include within the would-be beneficent scope of the state's activity both town and country, both artisan and agriculturist; and it is in this irreconcilable antagonism of the two great interests, so strikingly manifested in the revolution of 1848, that security against an aggressive Socialism mainly lies. That antagonism can be compromised by no statesmanship; can be concealed by no artifice. It may be that the agrarian agitators of Europe, seeing their object to be unattainable save through revolution, may, for the time, join forces with the Socialists of the town, the men of manufactures and trade, to put down authority; but should success attend such an alliance, the moment of triumph will see the divergence begin—nay, will see hostilities commence between the two parties, which stand divided by irreconcilable interests. It is more probable that the antagonism of these two great interests will be the means of preserving the *status* and protecting existing governments from destruction. Nevertheless, a long and painful agitation would seem to be inevitable, accompanied by disturbance, and causing increasing anxiety, until statesmanship shall discover and apply the means of educating and elevating the people, of removing their real grievances, and promoting their happiness and comfort. The last indicated result it is, I believe, the true mission of Socialism to accomplish.

That the real Socialists of the Continent are numerous enough to initiate revolution in any country, is very doubtful; but that Socialism may be made the rallying-ground for political revolutionists and agrarian agitators; that some very wild and bloody work may, in this way, come to be charged upon Socialism; and that any successful revolu-

tion, from whatever source, would, in the first instance, lead to a great many economic follies, socialistic or communistic in character, is not unlikely.

At the present moment, Germany is the ground which the Socialist spirit has chosen for its most conspicuous demonstrations; while emissaries or emigrants from that land are actively engaged in promoting the agitation of the social question in other countries, notably in England and the United States. How far the members of the Socialist party in Germany are such merely or mainly through opposition to the militarism of the empire; how far republicanism is the reason for this adhesion; how far agrarianism may be the real impelling force; how far the recent accessions express merely the disaffection and suffering which have resulted from the depression of trade and industry; how far, again, those who call themselves Socialists, in Germany, are such only in the sense that they are opposed to extreme individualism, while they would be satisfied or conciliated by something far short of a complete overturning of the existing order: these are questions which it is not easy to answer with assurance. This, doubtless, may be said, that Germany contains a larger number of convinced Socialists than any other country of Europe; that is, of men who, aside from political purposes, do, in their most serious thinking, believe in the scheme of substituting a Labor State for the present organization of industry.

When we cross the border into France, we reach the classic land both of Socialism and of Communism. Here we find a country which has no agrarian question. Here, too, we have a country, which, notwithstanding its highly unsatisfactory organization, as a matter of political mechanics (noted, especially, in the absence of proper local government), and notwithstanding its lamentable lack of adequate leadership, exposing the administration to indignities from sources which should be beneath notice, has yet no proper political question. Do we here, in France, find any recent manifestations of Socialism which should cause alarm, as indicating a wide popular acceptance of that principle? On the contrary, in spite of vicious political tradi-

tions and habits, inclining the people readily to appeal to the state for relief, aid, and guidance, we find Socialism, dangerous, subversive Socialism less prominent and threatening now than in the past. This is due to several causes, which it will be instructive to note.

The first is free discussion, in which the economists and the laboring classes have approached each other with a mutual comprehension and sympathy impossible at the time when, thirty-five or forty years ago, the economists declared that there was no social question ; that there could be no social question ; and that all which was required to secure the happiness of the people was a completer and severer application of the principle of individualism. The economists now fully admit that there is a social question, of a most vital character ; while the leaders of popular opinion are showing an increasing willingness to subject their schemes to the test of well-approved economic principles, and are applying their energies to the consideration of immediately practicable measures which fairly fall within the field of legitimate debate. Thus I find in the cable despatches of the 26th of February, 1886, just after the Trafalgar Square riots in London, the statement that the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies had, on the previous day, addressed a telegram to their "fellow workmen in the British House of Commons," proposing an international effort in the interest of labor. The despatch says :

> "The main objects of the proposed movement are to be the securing of a reduction in the hours of labor; improvement in the sanitary condition of workshops; proper limits as to the work required of women and minors; and an absolute prohibition against allowing children, of either sex, under fourteen years of age, to work at all in shops or factories."

Now, here is a body of proposals, every one of which falls within the range of the state's rightful interference with freedom of contract. For one, I believe that much of the force of the Socialist party is to be expended in efforts like those indicated ; and that, as the condition of the working classes is gradually improved, through aids and safeguards

provided by law, and through their own increasing self-confidence and mutual reliance, the power of the Socialists, as a party threatening the existing structure of society, will even more rapidly decline. And it is never to be forgotten in this connection, that, in the evolution of the factory legislation of England and America, the economists and the members of the master class were, generally, in error, almost uniformly taking the side of opposition to provisions which a long and wide experience has shown to be beneficial.

A second cause of the subsidence of Socialism in France has been the interest taken by so many of the laboring class in efforts at industrial co-operation. It is self-evident that, so far as voluntary co-operation in industry can be made to succeed, the very ground is removed from under Socialism.

A third and more important cause is found in a direction almost diametrically opposite, namely, in the influence of trade-unions. In the scheme of industrial co-operation, the employer is dispensed with; profits go to re-enforce wages; and the laboring class becomes at once self-employed and self-directed. The trades-union, on the contrary, accepts the relation of employer and employed; but seeks, by concert and combined effort on the part of the employed, as against both the employer and the outside mass of labor, to secure certain economic benefits, by restricting admission to the trade, prescribing modes and times of labor, and, so far as the demand for the products of the craft admits, raising the rate of wages.

This is not the place to discuss the economic bearings of trade-unions. What is important, for our present purpose, to observe, is that trades-unions have a selfish or particular interest, as against that order of things which Socialism contemplates; and that their members have, all over Europe, manifested a decided hostility to Socialist agitation. A striking illustration of that attitude was given in the cable despatches from London at the time of the Trafalgar Square riots, in which it was stated that the trades-unions of that city had declined to accept relief from the Mansion House subscription, stating that they were abundantly able to take care of their own unemployed members, and that

these constituted but three per cent of their entire number. I think we may count with certainty upon this attitude of the trades-unions toward Socialism being maintained; and, so long as this is the fact, given the conservative influence of the agricultural class; given, again, the irreconcilable opposition between protectionism and internationalism;* given, also, the natural influence of property and culture, it seems to me that there is no occasion for that alarm regarding Socialism, sometimes so ludicrously manifested as toward something which is to burst forth in fire and blood, to destroy the last vestiges of civilization.

We have, it appears to me, in any country not otherwise ripe for revolution, force enough to preserve the *status*, until, by discussion and investigation, real and good reasons for change shall be forthcoming, to the conviction of the impartial members of the community. Meanwhile, not in servile apprehension of Socialist revolt, but because it is our duty to our kind, let us invoke every economic and social force that can be called into action, to better the condition of that disregarded mass of labor which lies lowest down in the industrial scale and from whose sufferings come most of the evils which afflict the state, most of the dangers which threaten our civilization.

For one, I have little fear of the red spectre which sears the eyeballs and crazes the brain of the statesmen of Russia and Germany. It is by no accidental coincidence that the freest nations of earth, the United States, Switzerland, England, Holland, and, though after a considerable interval, France, are those which are least afflicted by the Socialist agitation of the present age. It is not unlikely that industrial Socialism will mingle with the revolutionary democracy, which is destined, in the immediate future, to try, as by fire, all privileges, institutions, and estates, in countries where

* It may be said that I have here invoked class selfishness (trades-unionism) and national selfishness (protectionism), as if these were motives to be invited and encouraged. I reply (1) that I am dealing with facts, not my own wishes; and (2) that, as a practical matter, I should never hesitate to invoke a prudent selfishness which would conserve, against a philanthropic folly which would destroy.

prerogative has denied to the governed their just participation in government; and where the war system, which is the simple expression of the despair and abdication of statesmanship, rests with crushing weight upon the prostrate and bleeding masses. But the fury of that fiery blast will have little power over those governments which are founded upon trust in the people, and whose laws and institutions have been framed, with however much of imperfection, in an honest purpose to subserve the general good.

IS SOCIALISM DANGEROUS?

In a manuscript lecture on *Socialism*, in addition to much which has been printed in the two foregoing articles, Mr. Walker discussed the question as to whether the public need feel any alarm over the spread of Socialism, and defined the position which a calm and fair critic should take.

IS SOCIALISM DANGEROUS?

THIS all-engrossing Socialism—is it something about which we need to feel any responsibility, whether to help to bring it on, or to stave it off? Is it something about which we need to feel anxiety as to whether it will come or not? Is it something which it is worth while, in our day, to get angry about, or to have definite convictions about, or in any way to "fash" ourselves concerning? I think it desirable that these questions should be asked and answered, because many, perhaps most, cultivated persons are unable to consider the simplest proposal for the enlargement of the functions of the state, without the disturbing, distorting influence of a great terror as to the ultimate triumph of Socialism in what they consider its destructive form.

Now, if we follow the chief expounders of Socialism, these questions are to be answered in the negative. *Socialism is a matter of evolution.* Read Karl Marx: in his *résumé,* at the end of his work on *Capital,* he recites the history of production, and attempts to forecast its future. He shows how the capitalist system arose out of the destruction of those forms of ownership (alike in the mechanic arts and in agriculture; among the handicraftsmen and among the peasantry) in which labor and property were united in the same person. In this first state, production had been small; but distribution was equitable.

In the transformation into the capital system of production (which is not to be regretted; which was not only inevitable, but was actually in the course of progress, a necessary step in the evolution of the final industrial state), self-earned private property was supplanted by capitalistic private property, which was not earned, but was obtained by the exploitation of the nominally free labor of others: that is,

resulted from the accumulation of *profits*, which in Marx's view, are simply *unpaid wages*.

In the next stage, the smaller capital industries are attacked by the larger. To him that hath, is given more abundantly. The petty shop, the petty mill, the petty factory, falls under the assault of the great captains of industry. These works are given over, in insolvency, or in despair of profits, to the man who can wield gigantic powers, take great responsibilities, assume appalling risks with coolness, and can administer great affairs with authority, intelligence, and courage. The business once done in the small shops and factories, is now done by him more systematically, scientifically, economically. Each great capitalist represents the expropriation of a score, or more, of smaller capitalists. Hand in hand, says Marx, with this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into machinery, requiring many hands; and the economizing of all means of production by their use as the agencies of combined socialized production.

At this second stage, we have, according to Marx, large production with inequitable distribution.

"That perverted distribution yields an ever-growing mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation.

"But out of this social agony comes the revolt of the toiling masses, *masses that have been educated by the very discipline*, systematic organization, and technical knowledge which have made the great works of capitalistic enterprise possible. We have no longer the ignorant peasant, as stupid as the clod he upturns, to deal with; no longer the craftsman, ingenious, patient, and wonderfully skilful, but of the most limited comprehension of affairs, and utterly destitute of broad sympathy with his class and his kind. Capitalistic production has educated the working people, and now, in turn, it falls under their attack."

The ranks of labor revolt against their captains. "The expropriators are expropriated." That revolt is easily accomplished.

"The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalistic private property was, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

Thus we come to the third stage: in the first we had small production and equitable distribution; in the second, large production, but inequitable distribution. In the third and final stage we have (that is, we shall have, if nothing happens) large production and equitable distribution.

The intermediate stage, be it borne in mind, is not to be regretted. It was a natural and a necessary stage in the social evolution. It was necessary that production should be socialized, in order that it might be ample and generous enough for the purposes of all. In order that production should be socialized, it was best that capitalistic production should be for a while the rule, even at the cost of an equitable distribution. Thus best were the methods of the giant industry to be developed; its machinery invented; its traditions created. Thus only could the toiling masses have received that general, technical, and political education which should fit them in time to relieve their former masters in the control of affairs, and themselves assume the conduct of business, purely, wholly for the general good.

Such is the socialist programme. The mere statement of it relieves our fears. The moment any social movement admits itself to be evolutionary, concedes the legitimacy of precedent forms, and renounces divine authority or natural right, it ceases to be anything to be dreaded; it becomes something which can be reasoned with, negotiated with, compromised with, dealt with on terms consistent with peace and progress —for the law of evolution is continuity.

I said that the moment Socialism admits itself to be evolutionary, it ceases to be an object of terror, for the law of evolution is continuity. Development will proceed only so far and so long as it continues to accomplish its purpose.

Whatever the programmes of men and societies, the socialistic movement will cease to determine when it begins to impair or manifestly to threaten the common, homely, everyday happiness and comfort of the masses; and with that assurance we may well be content. Mankind has been through too much in the past hundred years, to justify any man in apprehending that society is going to the "demnition bow-wows" because courses are entered on which, if carried out to their logical conclusions, or according to the purposes and programmes of their promoters, would lead to the most appalling catastrophes.

This is, however, not to say that some very shocking mischief will not be wrought in some of the older countries of the world under the name of "Socialism." That is an altogether different matter. Revolutionary democracy, agrarianism, anti-militarism, general disaffection, even dynastic and partisan conspiracies, will freely assume the guise of Socialism for the purpose of striking down governments or administrations.

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Of the Socialist programme I shall say but little. It is no part of my plan to discuss it here. Mankind will know much more about the subject before they are called to deal with it as a practical matter. I propose only to offer a few suggestions regarding your study of Socialist literature.

First. Socialism, like any other great and momentous scheme, is entitled to be judged by its latest and its best word; not to be derided for the crudities and absurdities of its early advocates, or condemned for the failure of its initial experiments.

Second. Socialism, as a subject under debate by great thinkers, is not to be confounded with the Utopias of a few individuals, like Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, or Dr. Hertzka's later *Freeland*. The great Socialists, themselves, have generally declined to offer any definite detailed scheme for the government control of production and distribution;

and in this they have kept within their right. Did they propose immediate practical action, they would properly be called upon for details, down to the very draft of the law that should initiate such action; but, inasmuch as they only indicate what appear to them general tendencies of society, they have a right to say, We do not know just where, just when, just how, all this will issue.

Third. The student of Socialism takes upon himself the responsibility of judging for himself whether the evils of the individualistic, capitalistic state are as great as the Socialist writers depict them. In dealing with such an indictment against the society of which he is a part, no man has a right blindly to accept the evidence which the prosecuting officer presents. For one, I believe that there is little less than monstrous exaggeration in the statements which the Socialist writers in general make, as to the amount of present misery. Take the English Socialists, for example. A purer, nobler, more philanthropic, more self-sacrificing body of men, it would be difficult to find. Yet they apparently judge of all the modern world by the slums of London, into which has drained half the foulness of three kingdoms. This is much as if we were to undertake to form an opinion concerning the condition of a city above, by wading in its sewers below.

Fourth. Even more difficult than the admeasurement of the volume of social misery is the task of deciding in which direction the social current is actually flowing; whether from bad to worse, as the Socialist writers allege, or from a condition admittedly bad in many respects, towards a healthier and happier state. For myself, I believe, in the face of numerous unpleasant facts, that the seeming increase of social misery is wholly due either, first, to its greater concentration in our day; or, secondly, to our deeper interest in the welfare of our fellow beings, the greater sensibility of the public to every tale of woe or shame, the more careful searching out of crime, vice, and sorrow in their lurking-places, the perfecting of statistical methods and agencies.

Fifth. Even if we accept the most extreme statement of the evils of the existing social order which can honestly be

made by any one, it will still remain a question to be long, fully, and fearlessly debated, whether we shall seek relief by abandoning the system of personal choices, aims, and efforts in life, which, in spite of its many failures, has developed so much of intellectual greatness and moral strength, to commit ourselves, in all our interests and all our concerns, to the government of numerical majorities, instead of confining the power of mere majorities, as now, to those comparatively few decisions which, in the nature of the case, must be made by some designated party, with promptitude, with authority, and with physical force to execute its decrees.

Fortunately, as I have said before, we need have very little of the sense of responsibility or of anxiety as to the outcome. After all our study and thinking, it will remain to us to wait and watch the developments of the future. The whole problem may change long before we get near enough to touch it. What we can do now is, by every means, personally and through voluntarily organized social effort, to promote the general, technical, and political education of the people through which, even the convinced Socialist must in candor admit, it may possibly come about that the evils of the present order will be measurably corrected, the deficiencies of competition be measurably supplied, and the rule of individual initiative and enterprise be transmitted to our posterity, all the stronger for the angry and persistent challenges to which it has been subjected.

If you have concurred in the view that has been taken of the larger Socialism, I think you will feel that we can return to contemplate the socialistic schemes of our own day in a fairer temper and with a better spirit, for having made that long excursion into the future.

How shall we deal with this host of proposals for substituting public for private activity, public for private responsibility? Is there any natural stopping-place in the movement for the extension of governmental functions? Is there any line on which the conservative citizen, who is, however, not disposed to resist all progress, or stupidly devoted to the *status*, may look to make a final stand?

I answer, there is a line which can be drawn clearly enough in principle, and which, in its practical applications, would not be more difficult to trace than is the case with the applications of most principles to practical affairs. That line is drawn between those industries which, in their nature, tend to monopoly and those which do not. A railway tends irresistibly to monopoly. The cutting of hair and the baking of bread do not. The gas supply tends, if not irresistibly, at least with almost overwhelming force, to monopoly, and attempts to bolster up competition in this line are practically foredoomed to failure; but even in this day of trusts, the manufacture of cotton goods presents as pure a case of individual initiative and enterprise as before the invention of the spinning-jenny or the application of steam. The express business tends to monopoly; so that, no matter how many companies are chartered, they will generally end up by dividing up the territory between themselves, and each putting on the screws within its own particular field; the newspaper, in spite of special telegraphic privileges, has not come under monopoly, and competition is as active to-day in that line as it was in the days of the first *London News Letters.*

Now, it does not necessarily follow that, because an industry tends to monopoly, it should be made a public function. But it does follow that it should either be made a public function, or be put under government regulation and control, to secure the interests and rights of the unorganized public. Where competition, in the nature of the case, does not enter, the principles, *laissez-faire, caveat-emptor,* do not, even in form, apply; and it is a mere mockery to quote them in answer to complaints of extortion or neglect of public convenience.

On the hither side of this line of semi-public functions, in what spirit shall we receive and consider propositions for the further extension of the state's activity? Shall we antagonize them, as a matter of course, refusing to entertain considerations of the special reason of any case? When we consider what advantages have, in important instances already recited, resulted from measures purely socialistic, are we altogether prepared to assume a position of irreconcilable

and undistinguishing hostility to any future extension of the state's activity? Doubtless this is, for the time, the easiest and the cheapest way of dealing with the subject; but is it the wisest and the best? Is it, even, in the long run, the easiest and the cheapest?

WHAT SHALL WE TELL THE WORKING CLASSES?

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In June, 1887, Mr. Walker delivered an address before the Alumni Association of Lehigh University on *The Labor Problem of To-day*. The same subject was treated in the following article published in the same year, and was further developed in an address as President of the American Economic Association in May, 1888, entitled *The Manual Laboring Class*, and in a lecture delivered at Cornell University, *The Laborer and His Employer*, February, 1889.

WHAT SHALL WE TELL THE WORKING CLASSES?

When, recently, in conversation with a distinguished American economist, I mentioned the title of this article, he said, "Ah, yes! what shall we teach the working classes? Good!" "Not at all," I replied; "in my opinion, we have undertaken to teach them quite enough already, and a pretty mess we have made of it. No; the subject of my paper is, 'What shall We Tell the Working Classes?' What shall we say to them, not as the priests of a mystery addressing their believers, not even as the professors of a science delivering to laymen conclusions which they are to accept upon authority; but as man to man, discussing a subject of common interest, regarding which we occupy a different point of view from themselves, and on which, therefore, we may fairly assume to be able to throw some light?"

I confess I have little respect for the objection which is often interposed to the use of the term "working classes." Every now and then some lawyer or professor or editor informs the public that he works twelve or fifteen hours a day himself; that he is just as much a working man as any carpenter or cotton-spinner; that we are all working men together; and that the use of this term, in application to a section of the community, is both etymologically wrong and economically misleading. Indeed, I know one highly intelligent gentleman who sincerely believes that the correction of our popular speech in this regard will nearly, if not quite, remove all our labor troubles and restore industrial peace.

Now, I cannot take this view of the expression in question. A "working man" does not necessarily mean simply a man who works—"only this and nothing more." There are few familiar phrases whose purport is not larger, or smaller, or

in some way different from the logical significance of the words composing them, if brought together for the first time. The term "working classes" is sufficiently descriptive for the use to which it is put in discussions regarding the organization of industry and the distribution of wealth. There are large and important bodies of producers who are clearly enough pointed out thereby, and who well enough understand themselves to be meant. It is not an offensive appellation, for it is self-imposed. It is not an inexact expression, for no one not intended by it would deem himself, or be deemed by others, to be included.

As to the notion that the use of this term deceives anybody, or creates the impression that professional men and employers of labor, shopkeepers and clerks, artists and teachers, do not, in their own way, work, and generally work long and hard—it seems to me too trifling to deserve attention. If the labor problem is to be solved by calling the working classes by another name, it must be a very simple problem, and the working classes must be very simple, too.

Whatever we may have to say to the working classes, the spirit is likely to be as important as the matter. It is a thing of course, that politicians, having respect to the recompense of reward, will flatter and fawn upon those who hold so large a mass of political power; but more sense and more self-respect might fairly have been expected of many of the persons, themselves altogether disinterested and sincere, who have of late contributed to the literature of the labor question. Some of these writers cannot refer to the general issue between laborers and employers, or even to a specific demand for higher wages or fewer hours, without gushing over the virtues of the working classes; without talking as if there were something peculiarly noble and self-sacrificing in occupying that position; without assuming, in advance of investigation, that any body of laborers must be right in any claim they may choose to make, and casting reproachful glances at every employer who entertains notions of his own regarding his interests or rights, as if he were a persecutor of the saints. Some of these social philosophers always speak of the position of a day-laborer or a factory

operative in a tone which intimates regret that the deficiencies of their own early education prevent their sharing in the moral and spiritual advantages of such a lot. Others write as though they felt it a duty to make up to the laboring class in "taffy" all that, owing to the hardness of the employers' hearts, they may not be able to secure in bread and meat.

Now, this sort of thing is foolish, and, so far as it has any effect at all, is mischievous. If the working classes are not spoiled by the unceasing adulation of which they are the subjects, it is because they have too much rugged sense of their own and too much native insight into character. But there is little reason to doubt that this kind of talk has its effect, in a degree; that many a laborer has been made restive by it, and that it has prepared the way for the seductions of the demagogue.

I believe I was the first person occupying a chair of political economy to declare that sympathy with the working classes, on the part of the general community, may, when industrial conditions are favorable, become a truly economic force in determining a higher rate of wages; but by sympathy I certainly did not mean slobber. An intelligent interest in the advancement of the laborer's condition, leading one to speak an encouraging word and to lend a helping hand—as, for example, in the case of the agricultural laborer, who may be hesitating whether to take the great step of leaving his native parish to seek his fortune amid strange surroundings—can be clearly shown to be an appropriate means to that end; but to chant hymns on the dignity of labor and to pay oratorical tributes to the virtues of the masses is neither here nor there. The moral deserts of the working people, except so far as these are transmuted into economic forces, rendering the laborers more efficient, more temperate, more trustworthy as workers, have no relevancy to the issue between them and their employers. Nor are those classes, in fact, a whit more honest, self-denying, kindly, or public-spirited, than the classes esteemed more fortunate. Those who are laborers are so because they have not found the way to be anything else. Why should they be praised for working with their hands,

when this is the only means they have for earning their bread? If any one of them saw the opportunity for bettering his condition and passing into what is deemed a higher industrial grade, he would at once seize that opportunity, and it would be a credit to him to do so.

Whatever we may tell the working classes, we shall *not* tell them, as twenty or fewer years ago we should surely have done, that the possible amount of their compensation is limited by the "wage fund"; that the remuneration of their labor is irrespective of their own industrial character, irrespective of their own exertions, irrespective of the present product of industry.

When one thinks that this was, so short a time ago, the last word which the universities and reviews had to say on this subject, and when he recalls the contempt with which every suggestion of other forces entering to affect wages was received by those who claimed to engross all authority in such matters, he cannot wonder at the hatred or the indifference with which, according to temperament, political economy is regarded by the working classes.

Nor shall we now tell them that they have no occasion to make any exertions on their own behalf to secure their just distributive share of the product of industry, or even to take any thought about the matter, since the competition of employers among themselves for the profits of employment will amply suffice to carry the rate of wages as high as it can possibly be maintained. We shall not tell the working classes that they have no need to seek their interests, inasmuch as their interests will seek them; that no matter how passive they may be, even a grasping spirit and unfair methods, on the part of the employers, will be powerless to impair, on the whole, the remuneration of labor.

Yet this was the accepted doctrine of the orthodox political economy, not long ago. "Unless," said Prof. John E. Cairnes, in 1874, having in view a hypothetical reduction of wages by a combination of employers, "unless we are to suppose the character of a large section of the community to be suddenly changed in a leading attribute, the wealth so withdrawn

from wages would, in the end, and before long, be restored to wages. The same motives which led to its investment would lead to its re-investment; and, once reinvested, the interests of those concerned would cause it to be distributed amongst the several elements of capital in the same proportions as before. In this way covetousness is held in check by covetousness, and the desire for aggrandizement sets limits to its own gratification." And in a similar vein Professor Perry wrote: "If capital gets a relatively too large reward, nothing can interrupt the tendency that labor shall get, in consequence of that, a larger reward next time. If capital takes an undue advantage at any point, as, unfortunately, it sometimes does, somebody, at some other point, has, in consequence of that, a stronger desire to employ laborers; and so the wrong tends to right itself."

Such was the economic opinion of half a generation ago. To-day the doctrine of a natural guardianship of the employing over the laboring class is entirely exploded. Nearly all writers of repute in this department of inquiry now concede that the working classes have a real, a large, and a vital part to perform, in securing that distribution of the product of industry which shall promote the highest development of the industrial organism and, at the same time, minister to the health and strength of each part and member. It is seen that the economic harmonies prevail only where competition is perfect; that the result of one-sided competition may be injurious, or even highly pernicious. It is seen that if the workman does not pursue his interest, he must, in greater or less degree, according to the severity and constancy of the pressure to which he is subject, lose his interest; and that, in doing so—in failing, that is, to realize the utmost economic good that might, with proper efforts, have been brought to him—harm may be done in the immediate instance. It is further seen that the principle, "To him that hath shall be given," operates in economics as in all other departments of social life; and that, consequently, all individual and immediate injuries, suffered through unequal competition, tend to go from bad to worse, tend to become permanent, and tend to become general. The laborer's penury, however first induced,

his fear of losing employment, his distrust of his fellows, generated by previous defeats, afford continually new ground and better leverage for the exertion of the master's force, until the normal result of an extended course of economic pressure to which a laboring population is unable adequately to respond, is found in the reduction of that population to the meanest grade of subsistence, corresponding to the lowest grade of industrial efficiency to which a population, thus subsisted, must inevitably come, through the impairment of physical force, the loss of hopefulness, self-respect, and social ambition ; perhaps, also, the formation of bad habits and the incurring of disease.

Out of this slough, it is seen, no economic force whatsoever operates to lift a laboring population. The services they are able, in such a condition, to render are worth their scanty remuneration even less fully than good work would be worth high wages. There are, therefore, no excessive profits, such as Professors Cairnes and Perry assume, to constitute, subsequently, a larger demand for labor ; but only a depressed state of industry and a degraded citizenship.

On the above accounts, it is admitted that it is even for the interest, the particular, selfish interest, of the employing class that they should have to do, not with men who have no opinion for themselves as to their rights and interests, thankfully receiving whatever may in the time and place be offered them, but with men who are acute and active in searching out opportunities for their advancement, and bold and persistent in following up every clearly discerned industrial advantage. The economists and the general public now fully see, what the workmen for themselves long ago saw, not because they were wiser, but because their deeper concern and intenser interest brought them more directly face to face with the subject—namely, that each man is the proper trustee of his own wages, and that these are most safe when paid into his own hands.

Looking at the larger interests of industrial society, as a whole, it is seen that the self-assertion of the working class, within due limits and through appropriate agencies, is an

important factor in the equitable and beneficent distribution of wealth. It is in the highest degree desirable that competition should be severe, searching, unremitting. This is essential in order that business shall be well done, even but moderately well done. Just so far as competition fails, there will result waste of materials, dissipation of energy, misdirection of effort, ending in a lower and still lower satisfaction of human wants. The socialistic talk of the day, in disparagement of competition, is either mere miserable cant, or else, if sincere, it is the expression of profound ignorance of the conditions which attend man's subjection of nature to his needs.

But if competition is to be the law of trade, if self-interest is to be its predominant force, the members of the employing class must not only press hard upon each other—the harder the better—but they must bear heavily on the laboring class; and the more heavily the better, so long as the latter can withstand and return the pressure. It is here as it is in an engineering work: What is wanted is the largest capability of resistance and reaction. If the engineer finds that his foundation is weak, he cannot get a thoroughly good result. Of course, if his foundation *is* weak, he must accept the situation and reduce the scope of his work accordingly. Likewise, if the laboring classes prove to be incapable of offering, on their part, a sufficiently firm and rigid resistance to that pressure which the true interests of industry require to be exerted, the fact must be accepted and the best done that can be under the circumstances. The working classes may be strengthened by protective legislation, of the nature of Factory Acts. They may greatly increase their own power of resistance through combination and associated action. Moreover, the pressure upon them may be mitigated, in some degree, by the conscious self-restraint of the employing class, either out of their own good feeling or from respect to public sentiment.

After all this has been done, industry must, so far as economic agencies are concerned, suffer whatever injuries may be wrought by unequal competition, only relieved or redressed, here or there, sooner or later, in a higher or a lower degree, by moral, social, or political forces entering the field from

the outside, or by the favoring accidents of new discoveries in nature or the arts, tending to restore to labor the foothold it has lost.

But while, thus, the working classes may be braced and supported, by association among themselves, by protective legislation, and by public sentiment, to increase the resistance they would be able individually and alone to offer, and while the pressure that threatens to become destructive to them may, in some degree, be reduced through the causes indicated, all this is not of good, but of evil, in itself considered. It corresponds to the shifts to which the engineer resorts when he discovers that the ground he has to build upon is quicksand—shifts which both increase the cost of the work and reduce its scope and value. The thing most to be desired is that the working classes shall be so alert, active, and aggressive in pursuing their economic interests, that the full pressure of that competition which is essential to the best conduct of trade and production may be applied to them steadily and unremittingly, without any danger of their sustaining injury therefrom.

This certainly was the case in the early days of the republic; this was the case, without qualification, until a recent date, so great was the mobility of the laboring population, so high their intelligence, so frugal were their habits, so enterprising, alert, and industrially ambitious was the rising generation, so wide the margin of living afforded by the favorable conditions of a new country—so relatively weak, then, was capital. If this has now ceased to be the case, it is not due mainly either to the fuller settlement of the country or to the large accumulation of capital during the past twenty-five years, but to the introduction of vast numbers of persons not born on our soil or bred under our laws, having lower standards of work and lower social ambitions, with less, at once, of general intelligence and of technical skill, often improvident and not infrequently intemperate in their habits, generally untrained in the responsibilities of civil life, and unaccustomed to the communication of thought upon subjects of general concern. Certainly, if the children and grandchildren of our population of thirty years ago were

alone concerned, it would still be true that the working classes of this country had no occasion to ask favors in production and trade, or to seek to escape the utmost pressure of industrial competition. The workmen of those days were abundantly able to take care of themselves; and the workmen of to-day would be not less so, if they all came out of that patient, watchful, resolute, sagacious, self-mastered strain.

This, I repeat, is the ideal industrial condition: that the body of laborers shall be able to offer an adequate economic resistance to continuous pressure from the employing class, so that no favors need be asked, on the one side, so that there need be no flinching, on the other, in the exaction of all which the most vigorous prosecution of self-interest may require.

I have spoken of the great change which has taken place in economic opinion. Whatever the economist of to-day may have to offer to the working classes must be said under the disadvantage arising from the fact that a great deal of instruction and advice has been given, in the name of political economy, which we now know to be erroneous. A certain degree of humility and deference will not misbecome us, for a little while, at least. Yet the mistake which the economists of the past generation made casts no reflection upon the learning and ability of their class; does not bring into dispute the importance of the theoretical investigation of the conditions of trade and industry; gives no cause for comparing the student unfavorably with the man of affairs. In this very matter the body of employers were just as far wrong as the economists, and have shown far less readiness to accept a juster view of the situation as it became revealed in a fuller economic light. Nay, in this very matter, while the working classes of England were right, as against both economists and employers, in their belief that they had much to do with effecting an equitable and beneficial distribution of the product of industry; in holding that their interest would not come to them, but they must go to it; in acting as if their economic fate were, in a large measure, put into their

own hands—they have, on their part, often exhibited a disregard of the conditions within which their activity in this regard should be exercised, alike as to occasions taken, means employed, and specific objects sought, which has practically put them quite as far in the wrong as were either economists or employers in denying any economic virtue to the laborer's self-assertion. On the other hand, where a deeper study and a wider experience have shown the body of economists to have been in error once, the whole mass of laymen, employer and employed alike—not less the most eminent men of affairs than the least favored and least influential—have, in a score of cases, been found in the wrong in matters economic. The discomfiture of the economists, in this instance, merely affords an illustration of the need there is that social opinions should be examined on all sides, frequently revised, and held always subject to correction through wider observation and longer experience.

I have intimated the points upon which the economists may have advice to offer to the working classes : namely, the limits within which their activity in the pursuit of their industrial interests should be confined, the occasions on which they may advantageously take issue with their employers, the agencies they may employ without injury to the general welfare and ultimately to themselves. This is eminently a matter where advice from a purely disinterested source might be useful to either or both parties to a controversy, even though no higher degree of intelligence, no larger range of information, were arrogated. It is, also, eminently a matter in respect to which the study of past experience and a knowledge of current events over the widest possible field afford an important qualification for forming correct opinions and sound judgments.

Yet I confess that I have such confidence in the political sagacity of Americans, using the term "political" in its largest significance ; I appreciate so fully their good sense and good feeling in dealing with matters which involve conflicting rights and interests, their quick intelligence regarding all phases of industrial organization, their disposition to concession and compromise of claims, their satisfaction in the

movements of industry—that, were it a question of our native population alone, I, for one, should see little occasion for preaching moderation in labor disputes. I have never known any considerable body of laborers, essentially all Americans,* of their own motion, without instigation and impulse from some organization of which the moving force was an alien one, make and insist upon an altogether unreasonable demand, or proceed to wrongful measures in enforcing even reasonable demands. Will some one point out such an instance if he can? On the contrary, so far as I am advised, except only in the case of a few demagogues who have carried their miserable talents to the best market in undertaking the leadership of bands of foreign laborers, the influence of the American is always thrown, in industrial disputes, upon the side of order, fair play, and conciliation.

It need not be said that it is not from lack of enterprise in seeking to improve their condition, or from lack of courage to make a long, hard, and bitter fight, when necessity requires, that our own people, industrially as well as politically, are profoundly devoted to peace and thoroughly amenable to reason. The ordinary American is capable of understanding and appreciating almost any consideration relating to the market, which his employer may have occasion to adduce. His spirit is that of civility, reciprocity, and fair play. He intelligently and cordially accepts, in its full economic bearings, the maxim, "Live, and let live." It is not like an American to persist in unreasonable demands, or to use violence and rudeness in overbearing lawful opposition. An American has not pleasure, but pain, in the cessation of production, in loss of time, in motionless machinery.

But the case regarding our national industry has not been allowed to remain as simple as it would have been with a

* It is a little difficult to define this term. Roundly speaking, I should call any man an American, for the purposes of such a discussion as the present, who was born upon the soil and who is, say, thirty-five or forty years of age. If much younger than that, I should not call him an American, as meaning that he might confidently be expected to exhibit the qualities mentioned in the text, unless, also, he came of native parents.

population all born on our soil, trained in our schools, bred under our laws. More, even, than our political situation, has our industrial situation been complicated by the effects of a high protective tariff in the accession of millions of laborers, reared under other institutions and breathing a widely different spirit. To this class of our working population is primarily due, if not due first, last, and altogether, that insolence and savagery * which have of late been imported into the relations between employer and employed, so much to the discredit of the nation, so greatly to the loss of trade and production.

It would be too much to say that here and there individuals or small groups, among our own people, have not become in a degree infected hereby; but it remains an unquestioned fact that at least all the acts of violence which have occurred in these unhappy controversies have been marked by the almost complete, in most instances the altogether complete, absence of men of native stock.

There is no use in mincing matters or picking phrases on this subject. No feeling of sympathy toward the unfortunate of other lands, no sentiment of hospitality toward those newly come among us, requires Americans to permit their own interests to be seriously impaired, much less the peace and order of the community to be endangered by alien elements. Those who enter our ports, from whatever clime, of whatever tongue, with the purpose to obey our laws, respect our traditions, and join harmoniously in building up the fabric of our national industry, become true Americans even before a United States judge has pronounced them citizens. But those who come into the land to trouble it; who create turmoil for no good reason; who agitate and distract society with needless alarms; and who pervert the bountiful privileges of our citizenship by a spirit and by methods which can only find excuse when employed against hereditary privilege and arbitrary power, should be sharply rebuked

* I do not mean to say that all of the foreign population, or even a majority of them, are to be charged with this; but I do mean to assert that substantially every manifestation of this kind has come from that source.

and sternly repressed.* This issue cannot be too soon made, with all new-comers and all old-comers alike, to the end that the peaceable and well-disposed shall no longer give way to the noisy and turbulent, or submit to be themselves misrepresented, and to have their communities disgraced by acts of violence done in the name of labor.

Greatly as have the forces tending to disturbance increased, under rapidly accelerated immigration, an especial cause for uneasiness and irritation has appeared during the past three years, in the invention of two new and most formidable weapons of industrial warfare—the "boycott," and the confederation of pre-existing trades-unions, and of vast bodies of labor, heretofore unorganized, under the name Knights of Labor. While the first of these agencies is too manifestly unfair and cowardly to be widely adopted here, and has, indeed, already fallen largely into disrepute and disuse, it cannot be gainsaid that the apparent possibilities attending a universal confederation of labor have, for the time, produced among certain portions of our native population an uneasiness, a restlessness, an overstrained expectation of vast advantages to be suddenly realized, which have in a degree alienated their usually sound sense and their highly practical temper; and have rendered them too ready to give credence to false prophets who cry, "Lo, here!" or, "Lo, there!" pointing them to a speedy regeneration of the industrial world.

That disposition toward unreasonable expectations has itself been promoted by the great advances which have recently taken place in the condition of the working classes—advances which make the present generation stand conspicuously out from the plane on which past generations have

* How? Let Chicago answer. But recently that city was both a scandal to the nation and an object of terror to other cities, on account of the domination, there, of brutal, dastardly hordes of law-defying, bomb-throwing anarchists and socialists, the refuse and offscouring of Europe. One year, one election, has intervened. Not only has the whole social face of Chicago changed, but her attitude among the sisterhood of American cities has ceased to be one of humiliation and become one of pride. A judge or two, a sheriff, a prosecuting attorney, and a new mayor, have sufficed to work all this change.

rested. This very prosperity, there is cause to believe, has served to excite anticipations far beyond what is reasonable, far beyond what is compatible with industrial peace. While the growing ambition of the masses is a proper subject for congratulation, the interpretation which those claiming especially to speak for the laboring classes, and, in turn, to instruct them, place upon the economic advantages secured in the past, is so far strained as to make it probable that very large bodies of working men, in different parts of the country, will have to sustain some severe rebuffs, defeats, and losses before they will realize the very close and stringent restrictions which nature has placed upon the remuneration of human efforts. Many of the leaders and "organs" of the Knights of Labor have recently been speaking as if the sole reason for advances which have been made was the fact that demands had been enforced by united action, and as if it would only be necessary for them to persist without faltering, in any claim they may choose to make hereafter, in order to win their case. Such ideas will be found as pernicious as they are false. There never has been any improvement in the condition of labor, any real and permanent increase of wages, for which a sound and sufficient reason, of a purely economic character, did not, at the time and in the place, exist. Where the conditions of industry and trade allow concessions to be made, without destroying the employers' interest in production, and without impairing the disposition to accumulate capital, there the active, earnest efforts of the laboring class will unquestionably aid in securing, if, indeed, they are not essential to securing, advantages which, without these, might be lost. But when the conditions of industry and trade do not favor, demands for increase of wages or reduction in the hours of labor, if made under circumstances which compel immediate compliance, will be granted, then and there, only at the cost of the general community, and especially of the working classes.

The part which laborers are to perform in influencing the distribution of the joint product of land, labor, and capital, is not a part in which they are to do whatever is agreeable to themselves, without regard, the most scrupulous, to

the rights and interests of others, and without responsibility, the most instant and direct, for all the effects of injudicious or wrongful action. It is just as fully true that there are no industrial rights without corresponding duties, as that there are no political rights without corresponding duties. In the industrial republic, as in the political republic, power comes to the masses accompanied by the gravest responsibilities for its exercise. In the one, as in the other, the abuse or wanton use of power inflicts its heaviest penalties upon the humblest members of the community.

Such and so grave are the responsibilities which attend the efforts of the working classes to improve their condition. They constitute no reason why such efforts should not be made; but they render imperative the requirement of prudence and moderation. It is here we reach the real labor problem of the time, which is to secure the proper tempering of the rightful and most desirable spirit of self-assertion on the part of the body of laborers, by the wisdom, the self-control, the spirit of fairness, the intelligent appreciation of the conditions of the market, which will restrain them from pursuing their objects by means which are incompatible with industrial peace and with the steady progress of production.

The problem is one, it will appear, which is to be solved wholly by education. It is idle to repine at the trouble and turmoil caused by the growing ambition and self-assertion of the body of laborers, and to wish them back again in the state of dull acquiescence characteristic of a past age. The laboring class will never exert less, but, the rather, more and more influence upon the distribution of wealth. The one hope of society is in the probability that they will increasingly learn, with larger observation and longer experience, to exert that influence with more and still more careful consideration for the interests and rights of others.

Machinery of any kind can do little toward the solution of the problem. Doubtless boards of arbitration and conciliation, the establishment of certain rules of procedure, agreements covering definite periods of time, may aid somewhat in averting causes of dispute or in adjusting disputes

when they arise ; but, if we have these alone to look to, strife will be the rule rather than the exception. The evil must be dealt with further back ; back beyond the outbreak of industrial warfare ; back, even, beyond the appearance of the issues out of which such warfare springs. It will not be until the working classes not only learn not to press unreasonable demands by arbitrary means, but come for themselves earnestly to desire not to make such demands, that the labor problem of the age will be solved. The task is then almost, if not altogether, one of education—of education in the duties of citizenship, in ethics, in economics.* I believe it would be just as practicable to bring the masses of the American people up to the point where they would, for themselves, among themselves, make it shame to treat employers unfairly and insolently, as we know it is to create such a sentiment throughout the community that even the idlers on the streets shall interfere to save a child from being bullied, or to punish the ruffian who insults a woman. Whether, with the very large admixture of persons not born on our soil, bred under our laws, or trained in our schools ; many of them reared under institutions of pure force ; few of them with the political sense developed by early and long participation in public affairs ; most of them with far less of the instincts of civility, reciprocity, and fair play than pertain to our native population—whether, under these conditions, the same high results can be attained and maintained will depend much upon the fulness and the freedom with which the body of laborers shall assert themselves

* This matter of the education of the whole body of the people, first, in letters and the elements of common knowledge, secondly, in civics, ethics, and economics, has, most fortunately, as I consider it, now become a matter of pressing and instant concern, almost of life and death, to every modern state. Not because we are philanthropically interested to do it, not because we at all like to do it, but because we must, because the state of things which would result from its neglect would be intolerable, we shall take up this work and apply ourselves to it, as civilized societies apply themselves to the successive exigencies incident to their growth and development; and, in so doing, we shall lift the whole body of our citizenship to a higher plane.—From lecture on *The Laborer and His Employer*, 1889.

against those who enter our land to trouble it. This is not a case where the better elements of society have no means of redress or self-defence. It will not be necessary to change the prescriptions or the presumptions of the law. It will only be needful that public sentiment shall be aroused on the subject; that the body of fair-minded and well-disposed laborers shall realize that the wanton and reckless attacks upon production and transportation which have characterized the past two years, in especial, are done to their loss and hurt. Given only this, we shall have no more instances of tens of thousands of workmen dragged by force or threats into contests in which they have no concern, and which their own judgment and temper render distasteful; no more instances of violent hands laid on the throat of the social organism, in attempts to stop the course of production and to wreck the machinery of transportation; no more instances of large districts forcibly deprived of the necessaries of life, of the commerce of a nation laid under a lawless embargo, of great cities threatened with darkness, riot, and pillage.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Princeton Review, VOL. 6, N. S. (1888), PP. 196–209

The subject had been previously treated by Mr. Walker in the revised edition of his *Political Economy* (1887), pp. 384–94.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

THE recent reception by Mr. Powderly of a delegation of Knights of Labor, sent to urge a change of the name of that organization, is perhaps an event of sufficient significance to be used in pointing off a stage in the history of the labor movement. It is but three years * since the rapid growth of that order and the aggressive energy of its management began to eclipse, in popular interest, alike foreign news and domestic politics. For a time the plans and prospects of the Knights of Labor did not merely form the most frequent topic of conversation in all circles, serious or frivolous ; they were the theme of the deepest thought and most earnest feeling given to any matter by the mass of the community. Indifference was, indeed, not possible. According to the predispositions or prevailing views of individuals, the almost daily advances made by the new league were greeted with enthusiastic delight, or observed with anxiety and dread. As trade-union after trade-union surrendered its autonomy, and thousands a day of laborers, previously unattached, gave in their allegiance, those who had been accustomed to look forward to a general parliament of labor, which should redress the balance of industrial power, felt that the good time, so often promised, so long postponed, had, indeed, come ; while the body of employers, the economists generally, and the great mass of conservative people anticipated the gravest industrial and social evils from a resistless and remorseless tyranny. It goes without saying, that the politicians grovelled, as only American politicians can grovel, before all who were supposed to exercise any influence among the

* The organization had been in existence for some years before it attracted any considerable degree of public attention.

"Knights." Legislators began to prepare bills with blank spaces to be filled in according to whatever should be ascertained to be the wishes of the new party; and every political "platform" at once took on an ample annex, carpeted, railed-in, and provided with reserved seats for the representatives of "labor."

It is not easy now for one to place himself back again at the point he occupied at the time, recent as that is, and to recall the reality and the intensity of the fears with which the supporters of the *status* contemplated the apparent accomplishment of the scheme for a general confederation of labor. The writer well remembers the gloomy forebodings of many most sensible and judicious persons, who looked for little better than the transfer of all initiative in production from the employing to the laboring class, followed by a general cessation of industry, and the speedy waste and destruction of existing capital. Rarely has the balance of the American temper been so much disturbed; rarely has the sceptical, practical, compromising spirit of our people, which leads them to avoid extremes, to distrust large expectations, and to take all they can get, "down," for anything they have on hand, however promising, so far lost control of our acts and thoughts and feelings as during the brief period when the organization known as the Knights of Labor was rising to the zenith of its popularity and power. The lessons of history were neglected; and even the wisest and firmest forgot that "the modesty of nature" rarely permits so much, whether for good or for evil, to be effected at once, and by a single effort.

Such was the importance assigned to the Knights of Labor, by their enemies and by their friends, two or three years ago. At the time it seemed that soon nothing would be able to stand against them. It would be too much to say that now there is none so poor to do them reverence; but the attitude of the order is certainly very different from what it was. Defeat on more than one field; extensive resignations of individual membership; coldness on the part of many trade-unions, open revolt by others; the actual appearance of a rival organization—have greatly reduced the prestige and

the strength of the Knights of Labor. The pendulum has swung the other way ; and many persons are anticipating the speedy demise of the troublesome order, or are already writing its obituary. Such an expectation must be warranted, if at all, by general considerations and by a study of the temper of the people ; not by the mere facts which have been recited. These alone would not suffice for so large a conclusion. Great causes are seldom prosecuted to a successful conclusion without reverses and periods of coldness and discouragement. In social movements, immediate defeat does not create a presumption against the worthiness of the object sought or against the possibility of its ultimate attainment. So far from this, it is even a condition of final success ; it is needed to compact the organization, to sift the membership, to bring forward the true leaders ; it is needed for the proper revision and reconsideration of objects, plans, methods, which, as first conceived, may have been unworthy or inappropriate ; it is needed to give sobriety of temper, earnestness of purpose, an adequate appreciation of the ends to be sought, qualified by a due regard for the rights of others.

The mere fact, then, that the Knights of Labor have plainly failed in their first efforts to control production and legislate for the industrial system, furnishes no reason for believing that the struggle is over, unless, indeed, the experiences of the past two years have satisfied the leaders of the movement and the mass of their followers that it is either undesirable or impracticable to carry labor organization further than the trade-union. If vast numbers of artisans and laborers still believe, as they so short a time ago believed, that their own good and the good of society require the general confederation of labor, with subordination of local and special interests, the contest is not over. This, then, is the one question in the situation reached : has the experiment thus far tried satisfied the working people, generally, that their objects are not to be sought in this way ? If not, we may be sure there is enough of courage and the capability of self-sacrifice, on their part, to open a new campaign with unabated ardor, though it may be by different methods and under changed leaders.

In no sense is the issue of "organized labor" involved: this has not been the question, at all, during these two years. The real contest has been between two forms of labor organization; and the main resistance encountered by those who sought to extend the power and influence of the Knights of Labor, has come, avowedly or secretly, by open opposition or indirect action, from those who controlled the forces and the resources of pre-existing labor organizations. The trade-union has fully established itself in the industrial system of the world. It can only be driven out by the steady advances of education, both general and technical, both literary and political.

It is now about sixty years since combinations of working men to influence the hours and conditions of labor, or the rates and terms of its remuneration, were first made lawful in England. Beginning their operations amid the distrust of the community, under the ban of the economists, and against the stern opposition of the employing class, trade-unions have made their way to general acceptance. Much they did, at one stage or another of their development, which was foolish; not a little that was reprehensible; and upon these things their critics have loved to dwell, as if the rule of human conduct was wisdom, moderation, and consideration for the rights and interests of others. Yet, in spite of all, the trade-unions have borne an important part in the industrial, social, and political elevation of the English people. Nothing less than the series of fierce revolts which followed the repeal of the Combinations Acts of 1824–5, could have lifted the operative class out of the horrible pit and miry clay* into which they had sunk under the effects at once of unequal competition and of vicious laws regulating poor-relief; by no shocks less violent could the degraded masses have been roused from the lethargy and apathy which hopeless poverty and long suffering had engendered; no succession of individual efforts would have sufficed to create in the factory populations that confidence in themselves and in

* No one who is familiar with the official reports which portray the condition of the working classes of England between 1815 and 1834 will deem this expression exaggerated.

their fellows, that social and industrial ambition, and that capability of calm, steadfast self-assertion, which are gradually transforming the English squirarchy into a true democracy. Even to the present moment, I, for one, believe that the conscious, purposed efforts of the working classes of that country, through the organizations by themselves created, sustained, and administered, to improve their industrial condition, have continued to be the greatest educational force in English life ; have done more to raise the general level of character, conduct, and political capability throughout the kingdom than any other agency. And it is a sufficiently natural result that, the longer and the more successfully the trade-unions have carried on their work, the more harmonious their relations to the employing class have become, the more temperate their acts, the more steadfast their policy. The noisy, the brutal, the incoherent, the frivolous, have been remitted to subordinate places; the best men have come to the front ; less and less resort has been had to violence and intimidation ; the function of the labor organizations has become more and more positive, less and less prohibitory.

In the United States, the trade-union has had no such part to perform. Our laboring classes have never known—they could not, indeed, conceive—the condition in which the repeal of the Combinations Acts found the town and the agricultural populations of England. Moreover, our own people, inheriting from their pioneer ancestry an exceptional degree of mental alertness, activity, and enterprise, possessed from the first of political franchises, accustomed to the communication of ideas, and to the discussion and decision of public affairs, educated in all the requisites of practical business, and embraced by a social system which invited and encouraged movement and change, were vastly better qualified to assert themselves by individual action than were the corresponding classes in England. Hence it came about that the trade-union was much later in its appearance among us ; that it found here a much less important work to be performed by associated action ; and that it has, thus far, failed to take so strong a hold upon our industrial system as it has taken abroad. Perhaps it has been owing to the same causes

that what it has done here has been done much less effectively and cleanly than the corresponding work in England; and that the trade-union, with us, is a far less perfect agency. Down to the War of Secession, indeed, labor organizations can scarcely be said to have made their appearance in the United States. Whether, without the vast accessions of foreign labor which have taken place, the desultory genius of the native people, their impatience of restraint, their indisposition to long-sustained exertion in any direction, would, in the absence of stronger reasons for associated action, have allowed trade-unionism any considerable career, is fairly a question. Certain it is, that the main impulse towards the formation of labor organizations among us has been of foreign derivation, and that alien elements have contributed by far the greater part of their membership.

Whatever might have come about, in these respects, had our native population been left to themselves, we have now, in fact, trade-unionism established on a considerable scale, and apparently with vitality enough not only to make itself formidable in contests with the employing class, but also to maintain itself against internal dissensions and against the tendency to disintegration resulting from gradual loss of interest or from repugnance to periodical assessment—that severest test of every enterprise in which native Americans participate.

With, then, labor "organized" to this degree, what is it which is to be sought through the Knights of Labor? It is not possible to give any answer to this question which shall not be subject to cavil, inasmuch as the programmes of the league embrace a great variety of matters,* some of which have as little genuine relation to the virtual purposes of those who put them forth as have many of the "planks" of

* Thus, certain propositions of a distinctly socialistic character are embraced in the declaration of principles which forms an integral part of the application for membership which every one who would become a Knight of Labor is required to sign. This fact no more proves that all Knights really hold such opinions, than the unanimous adoption of Mr. Boutelle's "catnip tea" resolution at Chicago proves that every supporter of Harrison and Morton is a total-abstainer.

a political "platform," in which expressions of sympathy with Cuban or Cretan insurgents, proffers of support to Irish Home-Rulers, avowals of interest in woman suffrage or temperance, are joined with the resolutions which set forth the serious intentions of the party and pronounce the issues of the campaign.

Assuming the existence of trade-unions, in numbers and power such as they are in the United States, the real objects of the league known as the Knights of Labor were, as I understand it, two :

1st. To include in the ranks of organized labor large classes of persons who could not easily or effectively be brought within trade-unions. In some cases this disability might be due to the essential character of the occupations pursued ; in others, to comparative isolation. Among these classes may be mentioned agricultural laborers, "common" or day-laborers, seamstresses, domestic servants, clerks and copyists, etc. To all these the programme of the Knights of Labor proposed to extend the advantages enjoyed by those more fortunate bodies of working people who, from the nature of their occupations, or from the fact of their being grouped in large numbers, were or could become members of trade-unions.

2d. To trade-unionists the new league proposed vast advantages, resulting from the wide geographical extent of its operations, far transcending the field which any single trade organization could assume to cover ; from the greatness of its membership, swollen by all the rolls of all the unions ; and from the concentration, under a central control, of the resources of the whole laboring population of the land. According to the bright promise of the league, it was no longer to be possible for a combination of "capitalists" (meaning thereby employers) to choose their place and time for industrial warfare, and beat the armies of labor in detail. The interests of every laborer, of every trade, of every section, were to be made the interest of all ; and wherever men, duly authorized, should strike for higher wages, or a shorter day, or better conditions of employment, then the entire power of the order was to be invoked in their behalf. Em-

ployers might no longer "lock out" their workmen, or even resist any demand from them to which the prior sanction of the league should have been given.

Such, disguised by verbiage no more empty than that which habitually envelops the programmes of our political parties, were the purposes of the Knights of Labor. If it be asked how the first of these objects has been carried out, it must be confessed, not only that nothing has been done, but that nothing has been attempted, in behalf of those neglected and often much-distressed classes for whom the powerful aid of organized labor was to be invoked. The poor seamstress,

> "With fingers weary and worn,
> With eyelids heavy and red,"

still mourns her pitiful "Song of the Shirt." No "Greatheart," sword in hand, and clad in the bright panoply of Christian charity, has "dropped in" at the retail dry-goods store, to give notice that hours must be shorter or wages higher for the half-fainting girls at the counter. A great deal of attention has, indeed, as many householders can testify, been shown by individual Knights to persons engaged in domestic service; but no effort has been put forth by the league itself on behalf of domestic servants, as a class. Day-laborers have been left to make their bargains, unaided in the general market, except where a few, more fortunate, have, by a judicious "combine" with "statesmen"* who retail spirits and run municipal governments, been put upon public works at half a dollar a day above current rates. Even the agricultural laborers, with all their votes, still make what terms they can with their employers, whether on the cotton plantations of the South or the wheat farms of the West.

So far as I have observed, no effort has been put forth to re-enforce laborers' demands through the authority and resources of the new order, except in cases where the persons concerned were already under the protection of trade-unions; and even here, it has been a rule, almost without exception, that when the power of the Knights has been exerted, it

* William M. Tweed.

has been in favor of classes who were not the least, but among the most, fortunate in respect to their remuneration. Indeed, wherever issue has been joined with employers, the chief difficulty of representatives of the order has been to keep back the tide that has set in from every quarter, even from distant States, eager to obtain the wages which the strikers have disdained. Appeals, remonstrances, threats, and even violence have had to be freely used to prevent a strike from being ended in a single week by the influx of unemployed, or more poorly paid, laborers.

These facts are not alleged as if they showed any marked perversity of character or extraordinary selfishness on the part of the Knights of Labor. Since even the gods are said to help those who help themselves, the executive committee of the league have highly respectable authority for leaving the poor seamstress and the footsore shop-girl to take such care as they can of their own estate, and applying all their force to improve the condition of artisans who already receive more than the average wages.

As to the degree of success achieved by the new order in efforts to re-enforce the power of local organizations struggling with so-called "capital," it is not so simple a matter to pronounce judgment. In the employment of the illegitimate boycott, the Knights of Labor have been signally beaten, to the honor of the American name. A half dozen petty dealers in New York City, and, perhaps, elsewhere, have been ruined by this dastardly device; but, in general, the terrors of the law, re-enforced by public indignation and contempt, have sufficed to turn this coward's weapon against those who have sought to use it.

In the employment of the perfectly legitimate instrumentality of the strike, the experiences of the Knights have been varied. They have won victories, and they have suffered defeats. As to what these victories and these defeats signify, concerning the power of the order in the future, opinions directly opposite might with equal plausibility be expressed. It might be said that the victories were won with but a small part of the force at command; and that the defeats were suffered through overconfidence, through the

rawness of those in charge, or through some diplomatic or strategic blunder. On the contrary, it might be said that the victories of the league have been so costly that a few more of them would bring ruin; and that, if an association of such numbers, starting out with so much of prestige and of material resources, could possibly be defeated at all in the first encounter, it would be easily within the power of the employing class, by due organization and preparation, to win in all subsequent contests. One of these views, regarding the facts of the past two years, is just as plausible as the other; and we must, therefore, look either to the reason of the case, or await the developments of the future.

For the moment, let us ask how far it is desirable, in the interest of the general community, and even in the interest of the laborers themselves, that any association should have such a power, in such a degree, as the Knights of Labor have attempted to reach and have claimed to possess.

That, in any extensive community, where the factory and workshop system is highly developed, embracing large bodies of laborers of both sexes, of all ages except the very youngest, and of widely varying orders of skill, intelligence, forethought, and self-restraint, it is desirable, if not indeed essential, in order to secure the community against grave evils, that the power of resistance, on the part of individuals, to a reduction of wages, or to an increase of the hours of work, or to other unwelcome requirements of the master class, should be strengthened, in some way or other, from the outside, is now admitted by nearly all publicists and economists. The means of thus strengthening the power of resistance in the individual laborer may be found either in legislation or in voluntary association, or in both. In the development of the industrial system of nearly all civilized states, these two agencies have been employed in conjunction. The law has fixed hours of labor, which must not be exceeded, and has provided for the sanitary care and inspection of buildings, and for the guarding and fencing of machinery. In many cases, the legislature has gone further, and has established regulations to protect working people against vague and indeterminate contracts, against arbitrary charges, machine

rents, fines, or other deductions from wages; against payment in commodities, or in anything except "the coin of the realm"; and in other ways has sought to help the feeble, the inert, the ignorant. Meanwhile, trade-unions have entered, to conduct the negotiations with the employer as to rates of wages and other conditions of employment, subject to the general limitations prescribed by legislation.

As to the expediency, on all accounts, of that which the law has thus undertaken to do, there is now substantial unanimity among all disinterested persons. As to the desirability of having this followed up by the intervention of the trade-union between the individual laborer and the employer, there is more difference of views; but, as has been said, there is a decided preponderance of opinion in favor of the action of trade-unions, when conducted with as much of good sense and good feeling as is fairly to be expected of men trained under free institutions. It is felt that it is alike for the interest of the laborer and of the general community, and even, if rightly viewed, of the employer himself, that the laborer should perform a real part in fixing the rate of wages, and other conditions of employment; that his action should not, by his necessities and his urgent fear of losing employment, be limited to merely taking what is offered him; but that he should be able virtually to dispute the ground with the employer, in the case of a threatened reduction, if not also of a desired advance; that he should be able to carry on that debate so strenuously and so long as to put the employer under a strong, a very strong, inducement to yield the point, if it can be done without injury to his business or impairment of his capital.

That such a state of things would, in the immediate instance, be for the interest of the working class, goes without saying; and the best results of recent economic thinking serve to approve this, as also for the benefit of the community as a whole, and even, in the long run, for the advantage of the master class.

From the intense severity of competition in the modern industrial and commercial system, the majority of employers are kept, without relief, under a painful pressure, which com-

pels them to save in every way, at every point, in order to reduce the cost of production. The most natural, the nearest, the easiest mode of reducing the cost of production is to cut down wages or to lengthen the hours of work. It is not greed, so much as the instinct of self-preservation, which leads the employer to take this course; and if he can succeed in this, he will sincerely believe that there was at the time no other way. It is only when shut off from this destructive resort that he will, under the spur of necessity, which is the mother of invention, find out the way to reducing other elements of cost, through a more rigid economy of materials; through improvements in processes and greater care of machinery; through increased activity infused into every department of the business; through a closer adaptation of means to ends; through stopping every leak and turning everything to the utmost possible account. Those who cannot, in ways like these, bring about the balance of income and outgo, should, for the general good, be driven out, and their places in the industrial order be filled by men of greater skill, resource, and energy. Even of the ablest masters, however, it may fairly be said that it is only when they find they cannot cut down wages, that they will turn to other means of reducing cost of production; and this, not from lack of natural good feeling, but because, as was remarked, the former is the most natural and easy way of effecting what may be, in a given situation, an absolutely necessary object. I spoke of the cutting down of wages as a "destructive resort"; and so it is, except in those cases where it is involved in a wholesale readjustment to meet a general change of prices (as, for instance, through an alteration of the value of money), or to suit new relations in the industrial system; or, else, when it is a purely temporary expedient responding to transient phases of the market. For, when a real reduction of wages has become general and permanent, competition speedily brings the same stringent pressure upon the least competent employers as before; and the urgent feeling of a necessity to reduce wages again springs up. But if this be effected, the employing class will soon be not better, but worse, off, since any considerable reduction in "real wages," *i.e.*, the

comforts, decencies, and necessaries of life enjoyed by the working class,* in the form of food, shelter, clothing, and even of moderate social pleasures, necessarily tells upon the laborer's muscular strength, his power of sustained exertion, his health, his hopefulness and ambition, his interest in his master's business, and probably, also, upon his habits. Under this "destructive resort," therefore, what the laborer loses no one gains. The apparent margin of profits furnished by the diminution of wages is eaten away by a reduction in the vigor or an impairment of the quality of work; and the degraded and dispirited laborer soon becomes worth his lower remuneration even less fully than formerly he was worth his higher wages. The ultimate result is that no one is richer, but the whole community is poorer, alike in the quality of its citizenship and in its productive power.

The subject is one which would require much argument and illustration for its full development; but perhaps enough has been said to justify the proposition that it is for the general welfare that the resistance to reduction of wages should be firm and persistent, only yielding to an absolute industrial necessity. Now, this the trade-union undertakes to effect. That, in performing that function, labor organizations often act unreasonably, sometimes even wantonly and violently, is due to inherent vices of human nature, to defective education, and largely, also, to the failure to cultivate friendly and courteous relations and secure due mutual understanding between employer and employed. The function itself is, in circumstances such as have been depicted, of great economic importance.

But if the trade-union undertakes that work, what is there for the Knights of Labor to do? It is here we reach the true

* "The wages of labor are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives. A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the laborer, and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition, and of ending his days perhaps in ease and plenty, animates him to exert that strength to the utmost. Where wages are high, accordingly, we shall always find the workmen more active, diligent, and expeditious than where they are low."—Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. I, Ch. 8.

ground for estimating and judging the main purpose of this organization. What the Knights of Labor have accomplished in the past two years is not now in point, but what they sought to do,—which was so to re-enforce the power and resources of local or trade organizations engaged in contests with the employing class as to render success certain, first, through bringing to the fighting body the moral and material support of the laboring population of the country; secondly, through cutting off the supply of labor which naturally tends to flow into any place where a strike has for the time created an industrial vacuum. The question as now raised is, not whether the Knights of Labor have, in fact, been able to accomplish this, or are likely to do so in the future, but whether it is, on any account, desirable that this should be done at all.

Giving such a qualified approval as I do to the economic effects of trade-unions, I am compelled to believe that the full realization of the professed purpose of the Knights of Labor would be to institute a hideous and intolerable tyranny, which would be worse by far than the tyranny that would result from unrestrained power on the part of the master class, and would speedily lead to a wholesale destruction of wealth and a general prostration of industry. But, it will be asked, is not the object of the Knights of Labor the same as that of the trade-unions? and is not the difference between these agencies for effecting that object, one of degree? To both these questions I answer, Yes. This is precisely one of those cases, recognized by the law,* and even more fully by political and social philosophy, where a certain difference in degree may constitute a difference in kind.

The distinction to be observed is just this: The familiar labor organizations may be said, in a general way, to have strength enough to offset the great economic advantage which the employers of labor, through their higher intelligence, their larger means, and their initiative in production, enjoy in the unceasing struggle over the distribution of the product of industry. Through a long trial they have shown

* Instance: Nuisances, assaults, breaches of the peace.

that they have strength enough to secure a full, attentive, and respectful consideration of the interests and claims of their members. They are strong enough, in a majority of instances, to compel a compliance with their reasonable demands, and to beat any combination of employers which shall attempt to act unfairly or abusively. On the other hand, they have not, as a rule, been able to overbear the rightful authority of the employer, to interfere with his necessary control of his own business, to render it unsafe to undertake contracts, to transfer the initiative in production from him to his workmen.

In a word, something approaching an equilibrium has been reached between the powers of the two parties, securing industrial peace to as great a degree as could be expected from poor human nature, under the rightful and growing—the fortunately growing—ambition and self-assertion of the working classes. Employers have been obliged to consider carefully the wishes and interests of their laborers; they have been rendered anxious to avoid causes of offence, and willing, in reason, to concede, whenever that is possible. This is as it should be. No good comes from the exercise of unchecked and irresponsible power in industry, any more than in government. On the other side, the trade-unions have learned that there is a limit to their power; that in making excessive or offensive demands they are likely to be beaten; and that a defeat on one such issue both shakes severely the confidence of their own membership, and correspondingly encourages and strengthens the master class.

It is in this situation, when both parties respect each other's rights because they recognize each other's strength, that the Knights of Labor enter and propose to turn the scale of power wholly and hopelessly to the side of the laborer, supplying the means, through contributions raised from the whole laboring body of the nation, for indefinitely protracting the contest, wherever joined; holding back all labor from flowing in to fill the void created by the strike; and, in the last resort, making it, by the imposition of the boycott, worse than useless for the employer to produce at all, except only and always in form, at times, in amounts,

for wages and upon conditions prescribed for him by others! Can any person, however little intelligent, seriously claim that such an entire subjugation of the employer, which would leave him bound, hand and foot, at the mercy of his workmen, and which would practically confiscate his entire capital, would be consistent with common honesty or ordinary decency, as between man and man? Can any intelligent person really believe that such a state of things would promote the welfare of the community, as a whole, or even prove for the ultimate benefit of the working classes? Would not the possession of such unbounded power, of itself, tend to make the demands of "labor" unreasonable? Would it not serve to bring to the top, in control of the organization, the men who in their nature are arbitrary, harsh, and reckless, rather than those more moderate, sensible, and conciliatory? All these liabilities to evil are additional to the fundamental difficulties which would attend the attempted control of a thousand diverse industries by a central body, which could not be large if it were to possess executive efficiency, but which, if it were to be small, could not be intelligent in regard to the infinitude of technical and commercial details which enter into the daily management of a nation's business.

For myself, I believe that the rapid growth of the Knights of Labor, three and two years ago, was due to a transient glow of feeling, a sudden access of optimism among the artisan and operative class; not to any deep sense of the need of such an organization to protect the interests of workingmen. I believe that the real impulse which led to the adhesion of most of the members of the new order was not selfish, but a desire, loyal and benevolent, though vague, to aid in a movement which they were assured would be for the general good;—assurances which they, for the time, accepted without much serious consideration of the natural workings of the proposed system. An impulse having been once given to the spread of the organization, it became, as in the case of so many popular movements in America, first a fashion and then a passion to join in; while professional agitators, politicians, and the press fanned the flame to fury.

The sudden decline in the strength and numbers of the order has been due, not so much to the resistance encountered, to defeats and losses sustained in contests with employers, not so much, even, to the national inaptitude for long-sustained exertion in any one direction, as to the fact that the practical common sense of the people has asserted itself; and that, on looking more closely into the matter, and thinking it over, the majority of those who have been members fail to find any sufficient reason why they should continue to be at the trouble and expense of supporting it. The progress of disintegration has, of course, been hastened by the action of the managers of many trade-unions, who, having always been restless under the authority assumed over them, have taken the first occasion to call off their own members.

DUTIES OF CAPITAL

From lecture at Cornell University on *The Laborer and His Employer*, February, 1889.

DUTIES OF CAPITAL.

With the immediate benefits and the majestic possibilities of freedom, we have to accept the dangers and the evil liabilities of personal choice and self-determination. Struggle and strife have to-day become the law of industry. To prevent or to adjust the conflicts which must arise in the modern industrial state, it is idle to talk of "identity if interests," or of the "harmony of labor and capital." These are but meaningless phrases, more likely to irritate than to soothe, when addressed to men sternly resolved to maintain what they deem their disregarded or invaded rights. Doubtless, there is an identity of interests, in the eye of omniscience; but we have to do with fallible, selfish, and passionate men, seeing but a part of the case and deeply prejudiced by their own vital concern in the decision.

Doubtless, there would be complete harmony between the claims of labor and of capital, were each rightly understood; but that the claims of capital, as the employer sees and is prepared to assert them, are necessarily consistent with the welfare of labor, is not true, nor is it true that the claims of labor, as the laborer sees and is prepared to maintain them, are necessarily consistent with the due increase and preservation of capital, and, hence, with the general welfare. Between the two parties there is a real opposition of interests, which may at any time be carried to the point of antagonism. This unfortunate issue is not to be prevented by crying peace, peace, when there is no peace; but by providing, as far as possible, the conditions of a fair and mutually conciliatory adjustment of differences.

The sense of the difficulties and dangers besetting the self-assertion of the laboring class, now thoroughly aroused to their own interests and conscious of their power, has led

to much preaching, of late, about "the duties of capital." This phrase, conveniently vague, may be made to cover many things; but, as I understand it, two notions are in the minds of those who use it: One that the employing class should take special pains to conciliate their laborers and win their personal favor; should cultivate their individual acquaintance, and meet them, more and more, on terms of social equality; the other, that successful employers should hold themselves bound to expend a portion of their gains in charities and benefactions among the communities constituted, in whole or in part, of their laborers. Of the first of these proposed remedies for industrial disturbance, it must be said that everything which tends to produce a better understanding between persons and classes, and to bind the members of the community together with stronger ties of mutual respect and regard, is always to be desired and welcomed. Doubtless, many an employer has found, in many a strait, ample reward for special kindness and consideration bestowed in the past upon his laborers. But it does not clearly appear how it is that employers, as such, have larger duties, in this matter of cultivating personal relations with others less fortunate, than have those who are not employers, except only as their opportunities are greater, through nearness and a degree of necessary acquaintance. The fact that they are employers stands already to their credit, in comparison with other members of the community, equally favored in the conditions of their lives; and they might not ineffectually reply, to those who preach to them on "the duties of capital": "We are, for our part, giving these people the means of earning their daily bread, and we are doing this with much labor and care and risk to ourselves. A division of labor is only fair. Do you entertain and amuse and instruct them?" Surely civility, courtesy, considerateness, kindness, and benevolent regard are always in order in all relationships; but I fail to see how an employer comes under any obligation in this respect which is not common to all the members of the community.

Of that which many who talk fluently of the duties of capital have in view, viz., a social *rapprochement* of classes

widely separated in tastes, modes of thought, habits of living, it is scarcely worth while to speak here. It is certain that working people do not care to be patronized by duchesses or college professors or their own employers. What they want to get, is as large a portion as they possibly can of the necessaries, comforts, and decencies of life; to enjoy these with their families and among their mates; to be treated always respectfully and considerately, and in distress perhaps charitably; to possess perfect equality before the law and equal rights with the richest and best; to have a fair chance to improve their own condition in life, if the way opens, and to advance their children to a higher plane if these prove worthy of it. That is what the working classes want; they have no hankering for May Fair; socially speaking, they only ask to be left alone; they would much rather smoke among friends and comrades, in their shirt-sleeves, than to have to put out pipe and put on coat to receive "grand people." In the forced mingling of classes which is thus urged by well-meaning people, there could not fail to be a sense of condescension on the one side and of constraint on the other.

In any event, efforts of this sort, no matter with how much zeal begun, are so certain to prove spasmodic and intermittent, that we need take little account of them in considering the labor problem of our time, which is not to be solved by lawn parties, or church fairs, or fashionable "slumming." In speaking thus of a social *rapprochement* of classes widely sundered in condition, in tastes and habits, I do not wish to be understood to express disrespect for that movement, initiated in London, and more or less followed out in other cities, which may without offence be called "Toynbeeism." This is an excellent thing in its way for the young men who take part in it; nothing could be better—for them. It is well for them that they should know how so many of their fellow creatures live and work, or suffer because they can get no work. It is well that, with their kindly purposes and noble aspirations, they should see the habitations of wretchedness and the lurking-places of vice. The contemplation, by a generous young scholar, of misery like that of the East

End of London could not fail to bear precious fruit in later life. Long after the young Oxford student shall have grown gray, the recollections of a year spent among the slums of London may give directness and pathos to the sermon of the preacher or reality and earnestness to the speech of the statesman pleading for ampler protection to the unfortunate and the oppressed, or enter subtilely into the decisions of the venerable justice, appointing the penalties of wrong-doing or short-coming. Nay, more practical results, immediate and important, may well flow from such benevolent enterprises, in the relief of suffering, in the enforcement of religious precepts, in the administration of charity. But it is not of charity that we are now speaking; and toward the solution of the difficult questions at issue between the employing class and the great body of self-supporting, self-respecting laborers, it does not seem to me that Toynbeeism offers any important help.

As to the other notion which prompts much of the talk about the "duties of capital," viz., that employers are in some way especially bound to expend a part of their gains in charities and benefactions among the communities which are composed, in whole or in part, of their laborers, I must again confess my inability to apprehend the justice or the social reason of such requirement. Fully recognizing the duty which every man owes to the distressed or afflicted, and heartily believing that no selfish use which the rich man can make of his wealth will bring him a tithe as much pleasure as its expenditure in judicious benefactions, I am yet at a loss to see why a manufacturer who accumulates a fortune through giving employment to a thousand hard-handed and roughly clad laborers is under any greater or any other social or moral obligation to expend any portion of his gains for their benefit, than is a banker or an East India merchant who has made his money with the aid only of a dozen sleek and well-groomed clerks, all wearing gold watch-chains. The manufacturer's wealth is his own, to spend or to keep, just as perfectly as is the banker's or merchant's. Indeed, if there were to be any question as to the benefit to the community, and to the laboring class in particular, arising from

the professional lives and services of the three, respectively, it would not be the actual employer of labor who would suffer by the comparison. To bring a special claim against him for some portion of his substance to be expended for the benefit of the immediate community is virtually to assert that his profits have been in some degree obtained by robbery of his laborers, for which he is bound to make partial reparation. So much for the question of right and duty. If it be made a question of expediency, we must pass from the side of the employer and look at the matter with the eye of the laborer. How much validity is there in this notion that the solution of labor difficulties is to be effected, or at least greatly promoted, by such a use of a portion of the employer's resources as has been indicated ?

In the first place, it is to be noted that there is a class of employers who could not, if they would, meet this requirement ; these are likely to be the very employers who have to do, generally speaking, with those bodies of laborers who are in the hardest case. In other words, this notion of capital paying tithes, or blackmail, or whatever it may be called, to appease the discontent of "labor" overlooks the fundamental fact that there are employers who realize no profits out of which they could satisfy this demand ; and that it is just from this body of employers that the earliest and most painful pressure comes for the reduction of wages. To look to the more successful men of business to make up by extra liberality for the inability of their brethren to perform these "duties of capital" would be as vain as it would be unjust. Here and there a wealthy manufacturer or manufacturing company may, out of exceptional generosity or public spirit, or from a prudent regard to the interests of a long future, build reading-rooms and libraries, museums and picture-galleries, or schoolhouses and churches, for their little villages ; lay out parks or introduce water at their own cost ; pension disabled or superannuated workmen, or do other grand and liberal acts : and doubtless the result would be found in the large view as profitable as the spirit which prompted them was virtuous and honorable. Any such instance is a public blessing, whose influence extends far beyond the range of its

immediate benefactions. "So shines a good deed in a naughty world." But it is too evident to need to be said, that such things cannot be relied upon to become general enough seriously to affect the relations of the two great parties in interest. The vast majority of employers must be expected to be hard-headed men, more than usually intent upon their own aggrandizement, and little disposed toward sentimentality or active philanthropy. This is, again speaking generally, a part of their qualifications for the successful conduct of business, although exceptions exist of men who can both conduct business successfully and freely give away its gains.

Nor even if much preaching and exhorting could multiply many fold such instances of royal liberality, on the part of employers, would this contribute much to the solution of the difficulty existing. What the working classes want is not gifts, but that which they deem justice. They want nothing in lieu of, or in commutation for, their wages. They know well enough that the aggregate value of all that they could possibly expect from the generosity of their employers would be a mere trifle compared to what they may hope to obtain by the close, unremitting pursuit of their own interests, in the distribution of the product of industry ; and they are not going to be bought off in any such way. In fact, this whole notion of the "duties of capital," as signifying the liberal use of the employer's profits for the benefit of his laborers, springs out of that old, baleful root, the idea of the trusteeship of capital. It goes back to the time when the squire sought to make his farm-hands forget their starving wages by occasional gifts and perquisites of small value ; when his good wife, Dame Bountiful, carried medicine and wine to the wretched tenants who were groaning in sickness directly due to the abominable condition of the cottages which neither public sentiment nor the law of those days could compel the squire to render fit for human habitation. The working people of the world, generally, have become sufficiently intelligent to see through this sort of thing ; and they are willing to relinquish their expectations of Christmas gifts and harvest gleanings, of soup and medicine, for the more solid advantages of increased wages and improved con-

ditions to work. They want all that their wages, all that their work is worth to the employer, paid into their own hands, at the time, in ready money, and for this they will cheerfully forego every claim upon his generosity.

I have dwelt thus long upon the talk, so fashionable, about the "duties of capital," because, while too much can never be said in favor of respect and kindness between man and man and between class and class, and too high praise can never be given to any acts of public-spirited benevolence or judicious private charity, yet this preaching about the obligations of employers not only arises from a false conception of the sources of business profits and of the title of the employer to his legitimate gains, but it distracts attention from the real issues involved in the industrial situation of our times.

MR. BELLAMY AND THE NEW NATIONALIST PARTY

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MR. BELLAMY AND THE NEW NATIONALIST PARTY.

EVERY great increase of human power, every marked advance in the material conditions of society, is followed by an access of optimism, in which men, for the time, lose the capacity nicely to measure difficulties, if, indeed, they do not altogether fail to distinguish between what is possible and what is impossible. Most men can keep their heads only when the rate of the social movement is moderate. Let that rate be greatly transcended, there is certain to be generated in the public mind a hopefulness of feeling which takes small account of obstacles to further progress. Let the improvement of social conditions continue at a rapid rate through a considerable period of time, and we shall see society visited by a series of quickly succeeding flushes, under the influence of which almost any illusion can be produced.

Some seven or eight years ago, great popular excitement was caused by Mr. George's crusade against private property in land. Large numbers of intelligent persons were found who were ready to accept Mr. George's promise that in this way he would abolish poverty, and bring back a golden age. Three years ago, the rapid growth of the order of the Knights of Labor stirred up all the manufacturing regions of the United States. A universal Federation of Labor was to be formed, with a parliament and executive officers. The initiative in production, the control over production, were to be finally transferred from the employing and capitalist classes to the manual-labor class. The new league grew, for a while a hundred thousand a month. Consternation was aroused on the part of those who supported the existing order in industry and society. If the Knights of Labor did not form

a party by themselves, it was because existing parties vied with each other in grovelling before the new power that had arisen in the land. To-day, for the third time in this decade, we find the community—shall I say agitated by a great excitement, or fluttered by a little breeze ?—created by the appearance of a new book, dealing with the industrial organization of society, but also a novel and a love-story. A party has been formed on the basis of that book : as yet, small and select. That party has not presented candidates for public office, but no one can say how soon it may do so. It is of that book and of that party I am to speak.

And, since I shall have not much sympathy to express with the propositions of the party platform, and may have to speak somewhat less than tenderly of the representations contained in the book, let me say that I have, in truth, no spirit of hostility toward those who are undertaking this propaganda. The more attention is turned upon questions of economic and social organization, the better I like it. So far from thinking that the world is coming to an end because projects which would destroy alike industry and society are, for the moment, a popular craze, I regard the phenomenon with satisfaction. It is the rapid movement of humanity along the lines of social and industrial improvement which makes men lose, now and then, all measure of difficulty and all sense of proportion, in contemplating bright and alluring pictures of approaching social and industrial regeneration. These pictures are all the more bright and alluring because they are invariably painted upon a background of gloom and terror, supposed to represent the actual condition of humanity. Mr. Henry George's rhetoric is employed to the point of strain in depicting industrial society as in the last stages of misery and discontent, while "in the shadow of college and library and museum are gathering the more hideous Huns and fiercer Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied." The fact is, had the English or the American laborer been a quarter part as miserable as Mr. George described him, he would not have cared the snap of his finger for Mr. George or his rhetoric. Books are not bought, to the tune of hundreds of thousands of copies, by starving Huns ; while Vandals are

notoriously more given to destroying libraries than to collecting them. What secured for *Progress and Poverty* its unexampled circulation was the general well-being, inducing a hopefulness which could scarcely bear to take account of difficulties.

The Knights of Labor, again, of course announced that the sufferings of the downtrodden masses had compelled a revolt against the oppressor. That which gave their ambitious scheme a chance for a very partial and a very temporary success was the fact that the masses were not downtrodden; that the movement originated among the most fortunate part of a laboring population, which, as a whole, was more fortunate than any other the history of mankind had known; and that the initial enterprises of the adventurous Knights were undertaken for raising the wages of the best-paid laborers in the country, not for the relief of overworked shop-girls or underpaid sewing-women.

The latest access of optimism among us has been due to the publication of a book in which the author sets forth his views of the next, now swiftly approaching, "stage in the industrial and social development of humanity." In order to give his sketch verisimilitude, and to present his matter in a manner every way appropriate to it, Mr. Bellamy causes his hero to go to sleep at the hands of a mesmerist, in an underground vault, and to wake, undecayed and in the perfect vigor of youth, after the lapse of more than a century, to find a new heaven and a new earth, and, greatest miracle of all, a new and better Boston. In this regenerated world pauperism is unknown; crime has almost entirely disappeared, the rare remaining manifestations of evil purpose being treated as instances of atavism, fast vanishing under more wholesome external conditions combined with scientific treatment; wars have gone, and with them fleets and armies; politics have altogether ceased to be, and demagoguery and corruption have become "words having only an historical significance." Not only is squalid poverty unknown, but instead of the *res angusta domi*, which, in our present civilization, presses all the time upon all but the few most favored, even among the so-called wealthy classes, there is, in the case

of every citizen of Mr. Bellamy's world, a greater likelihood * that he will not be able to avail himself of all the purchasing power placed in his hands than that he will ever feel the need of anything which he cannot secure. General satiety is, indeed, quite the order of the day, in the new society. Not only has crime substantially disappeared, but with it have gone meanness, arrogance, and unkindness. All men feel themselves truly brothers, and delight in each other's prosperity as in their own.

The first impulse of the reader of this description of the society of 2000 A.D. is to cry out: "How can any man, the most optimistic, assume that such a change in the forces and relations of human life could possibly take place in so brief a term of years! Conceding all that may be claimed as to the possibilities of a distant future, how can any one be so wild, so insane, as to believe that three generations would suffice to transform the world we now see, with its armies, its forts, its jails, its warring nations, its competing classes, its vast inherited load of pauperism, crime, and vicious appetite, into the world which is depicted in *Looking Backward!* What folly to suppose that human nature could so greatly change in so short a time!" But the reader would be in error. Mr. Bellamy would instruct him that human nature has not changed; that there was at no time any reason why human nature should change. Human nature was well enough all the while. This marvellous transformation has been brought about wholly by the introduction of a piece of social machinery so simple that the only wonder is it did not come into use in the time of the Aryan migrations. All that humanity has gone through, of misery and of suffering, has been absolutely useless. Mankind have not been undergoing a course of education and training, through hardship inciting to invention, arousing courage, building up nerve and brain. They have simply been waiting for Mr. Bellamy; and very miserable indeed have they been because he kept them waiting so long.

When one thinks of the wretchedness, the shame, and the

* *Looking Backward*, p. 89.

anguish of the human condition through these uncounted centuries, it is impossible not to feel a little impatience at this gentleman for not turning up earlier. Those who believe that the experiences of mankind, bitter and thrice bitter as they have been, were ordered in mercy by an all-wise Being; those, on the other hand, who look upon the human lot, hard as it was, as affording the essential conditions under which, through the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, the evolution of man from low to high degrees of power, intelligence, and virtue was to be effected,—both these classes may view, without repining, the pain, the weariness, the ignominy, of thousands of millions of human lives. But the Nationalist who appreciates the astonishing, the prodigious change in the fortunes of mankind to be wrought at once * by a mere piece of political machinery, transforming the earth into a paradise, cannot suppress a little impatience at this unnecessary prolonging of the term of human misery. Confound that Bellamy!—he must say, at least to himself,—why couldn't he have attended to this thing earlier? Why didn't he get himself born under the Pharaohs? Then all this pain would have been saved; those partings need not have taken place; Christ need not have died.

What is the political mechanism which is to change the face of the earth from universal gloom and terror, as Mr. Bellamy is pleased to describe it, to universal joy and gladness? I answer, All this is to be effected by the organization of the entire body of citizens into an industrial army. All persons between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five are to be mustered in by force of law, women as well as men. This vast body is to be formed into companies, regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps, constituting in its aggregate the grand army of industry. Officers of appropriate rank are to be assigned to the command of the several subdivisions.

* It is to be said that, while the hero of the book goes to sleep in 1887 and wakes in 2000, the new state has at the latter date been in perfect operation for a long time. The great change is spoken of as having taken place instantaneously, through the simple formation of the industrial army.

Every member is required to serve in whatever place and at whatever work may be prescribed,* his own peculiar qualifications and the needs of society being taken into account. In order, however, to reduce the element of compulsion to a minimum, that is, to substitute volunteering for conscription, as far as possible, "the administration" will seek to equalize the advantages of the different kinds of service. Thus, if one sort of work is disagreeable or arduous, the hours of labor therein will be diminished to the point where as many persons shall apply for service in that capacity as are required to meet the demand, the number of hours at lighter and pleasanter tasks being increased to whatever point shall be necessary to keep the number of applicants down to the demand. In the same way, the advantages of residence in different regions will be equalized by the administration, through the fixing of longer or shorter hours, or through the appointment of harder or of easier tasks, according as any given region possesses more or less of original attractiveness.

One would be disposed to think that a work like this, in which a mere man should take the place at once of Nature and of Providence, would call for abilities of the highest order, an almost inconceivable energy, an almost inconceivable prudence. But, again, Mr. Bellamy corrects the first mistaken impression of the uninitiated reader, and assures him that the business is so easy that it could not fail to be successfully administered, and that it is not at all essential that the ablest men should be chosen for the highest positions in the new state. Indeed, he declares the system to be so simple that "nobody but a fool could derange it."

The greatest difficulty which occurs to me in the practical application of this principle would be in equalizing the advantages of country and of city life. Under our present competitive system, the great majority of country people do not go down to the city, simply because they know that if

* "When the nation becomes the sole employer, all the citizens, by virtue of their citizenship, become employés, to be *distributed* according to the needs of society."

they did they would starve. Even so, the fascinations of congregate life are so great that millions submit to the most squalid and foul conditions, in order that they may live in the glare and noise of great cities. If this attraction of urban life is found so powerful under present conditions, how strong will it be when cities become as beautiful, agreeable, and wholesome as Mr. Bellamy is going to make them, and when every member of the industrial army is entitled to draw his full rations wherever he may live! It seems to me clear that it would be necessary to reduce the hours of labor in agriculture to not exceeding one and a half a day, in order to retain a proper proportion of the population upon the soil. But since the produce of the soil at present, with its cultivators working an average of twelve hours, only suffices to feed and clothe the inhabitants of the world very poorly and scantily, what would happen if the hours of labor in agriculture were reduced to one and a half?

I confess that at this point I have been obliged to give up the quest, finding the difficulties of the subject too great for my unenlightened intellect.

In one respect, Mr. Bellamy, who keenly enjoys military terms and images, makes a wide departure from the usage in ordinary armies. In Mr. Bellamy's army, all are to be paid alike and are to enjoy equivalent physical conditions. Officers and privates are to fare in all respects the same, the highest having no preference whatever over the meanest, absolutely no material consideration being awarded to the greatest powers in production or in administration. Now, the rule is very different from this in the real armies of the civilized world, and Mr. Bellamy would do well to be careful lest, in leaving out the principle of graded rewards corresponding to gradations of rank, he should omit a feature which is essential, the lack of which may cause his industrial army to go to pieces.

Such is the mechanism which Mr. Bellamy proposes for carrying on the industry of the nation and providing for its material wants. What are the advantages which, in his view, would result from thus organizing the productive forces

of the country? These may be grouped, in a general way, as follows:

(1) Since no man is to be allowed to enjoy more of good things than others, those who stand at the lower end of the scale of industrial efficiency, moral energy, physical force, and technical skill would obtain a dividend from a body of comforts, luxuries, and necessaries of life to the production of which their own force or industry would not be competent. Here, of course, is clearly seen an opportunity to improve the condition of the less fortunate members of the community, as at present constituted, *provided only and provided always* that this ravishing away of the fruits of exceptional intelligence, industry, and skill should not diminish the zeal with which those qualities will be applied in future production. Should the latter prove to be the case, the less fortunate members of the community would not be better off, but worse off,—indeed, indefinitely worse off, by reason of such a confiscation.

But while Mr. Bellamy's scheme thus offers an opportunity (subject to the important proviso just now indicated) to divide up the superfluity of the rich, the author has to admit that, with so large a divisor as the total number of the people, the addition made thereby to the income of each man, woman, and child would, at the most, be but a few cents a day. Whence, then, is to come that abundance of good things which is depicted in this romance?—an abundance so great of all the comforts, decencies, and wholesome luxuries of life, including the best of wines and cigars and opera twenty-four hours a day, that it is stated to be not unlikely that any man would care to use less than the amount of purchasing power placed at his disposal. In order to provide this abundance, Mr. Bellamy is obliged to leave the distribution of what we now call wealth, and undertake to show that production would be enormously increased under his proposed scheme.

(2) In meeting this exigency of his argument, the author indulges in an extravagance of exaggeration which is hardly to be equalled in the myths of any people, from Scandinavia to the Indian peninsula. According to his exhibit, only an

insignificant portion of the labor and capital power of a thousand million of toilers, the world over, is now really applied to the satisfaction of human wants. His statement of the evil effects of excessive competition and ill-directed enterprise rises into the realm of the marvellous. All this is to be saved and turned to the most beneficent use in his industrial state. There is to be no waste of substance and no duplication of effort. No man or woman is to be obliged to labor after the age of forty-five, with exceptions too inconsiderable to be noticed, and no child before twenty-one; yet all are to have enough and to spare.

(3) Having thus shown that much can be added to the good things to be enjoyed by the community, through what he regards as an improved system of production, Mr. Bellamy proceeds to show that, in the consumption of what we now call wealth, a vast saving is to be effected. Property having been virtually abolished, all crimes against property disappear, by the necessity of the case. As no man has anything of which he could be robbed, and as no man has any wants unsatisfied which could lead him to robbery, a very beautiful order of things is immediately instituted. Moreover, in such a happy state, all vicious and malignant instincts and impulses will be so acted upon by general forces, making for intelligence and morality, that crimes against the person and against the community will practically disappear; and society will thus be relieved from the expense of providing policemen, judges, and jails.

Such are the three modes in which Mr. Bellamy proposes to afford the world that abundance of good things which is depicted so appetizingly in his now famous novel, *Looking Backward.*

I do not know that I could give, in a brief space, a better idea of the degree of discretion and moderation with which Mr. Bellamy deals with obstacles to his scheme than by saying that he settles in a single line the greatest of human problems. "We have," says this light and airy human providence, "no wars, and our governments have no war powers." Is it wonderful that a novelist who in one line can dispose of a question which has baffled the powers of statesmen, diplo-

mats, and philanthropists through the course of centuries, should in a few chapters put you together a social order from which vice, crime, pauperism, and every form of human selfishness altogether disappear ?

Yet, even after such a masterly disposition of the problems which have taxed the powers of the greatest minds of the race, even after the tremendous assumptions which he permits himself on his mere fancy to make, Mr. Bellamy is well aware that he has still to deal with a difficulty of colossal magnitude. Conceding all he would be disposed to claim for his system if erected and put into operation, it still remains to be shown how this industrial army shall be officered; how "the administration" which is to set and keep millions of persons at work, each in the place and in the way best suiting his capacity, to order and control this gigantic industrial machine without friction, without waste, and without loss, shall be chosen, or elected, or otherwise constituted. If the choice of rulers and administrators for governments which exercise but a tenth or a hundredth part of the power and authority that is to be placed in the hands of the officers of the industrial army gives rise to parties and factions which are ready to tear each other asunder, generates intrigues and cabals which threaten the existence of government itself, and creates a large class of professional politicians, what may we expect when "the administration" controls all the activities of life, sets every man of the community at work and in place according to its pleasure, and undertakes to redress the balance of advantages and disadvantages among hundreds of occupations and thousands of considerable communities ?

I have said that Mr. Bellamy is aware of this difficulty. He proposes a scheme for the choice of those who are to exercise these tremendous powers, which may safely be claimed by his admirers to be without a parallel in political speculation. This is, in truth, the great original feature of Mr. Bellamy's plan. The analogy of an industrial to a military army has been suggested by other writers; many philosophers have risen to the conception of a comprehensive socialism, in which the state should be all and in all; but Mr. Bellamy alone has undertaken to show how seeking and

striving for office can be entirely eliminated, and how an "administration," exercising a hundred times the power of an ordinary government, can be secured so purely and so peacefully that demagoguery and corruption shall become words of an historical significance only. Such a discovery constitutes his chief claim to distinction as a social and political philosopher.

Mr. Bellamy's project is unique and grand in its simplicity. It consists solely in bestowing the choice of the officers of the industrial army upon those who have already been discharged from service, at forty-five. The constituency thus composed, being themselves exempted from further service in the industrial army, can have no possible interest other than the selection of the altogether best man for each place of command; and they will proceed to exercise their function of choice, in this momentous matter, disinterestedly, dispassionately, and with the highest intelligence. Among a body thus constituted intrigues and cabals can, of course, not originate; the tremendous powers of patronage they are to wield cannot possibly give rise to favoritism or partisanship.

Mr. Bellamy's notion of the composition of an electoral constituency has an interest and a value for us, as citizens deeply concerned in public affairs, even under the present benighted organization of society. We need not wait for the complete realization of the scheme to put this feature of it into operation for the improvement of current politics. The choice of legislators and governors now causes a great deal of trouble: gives rise to office-seeking and offensive partisanship; provokes intrigues and cabals; generates demagoguery and corruption. Is it not clear that we need to seek some constituency within the commonwealth whose members are free from interest in the government and can derive no personal benefit from the choice of officials? It is in this view that I venture to supplement Mr. Bellamy's suggestions. Is there anywhere in Massachusetts such a constituency, to which might be intrusted the selection of our governors and legislators? Clearly, there is. We have certain highly populous institutions in which are to be found no inconsiderable number of persons who are definitively relieved

from further participation in public affairs. Sequestered for the remainder of their existence, by act of law, from activity and agency within the commonwealth, why should not these persons, familiarly known as "convicts for life," be intrusted with the choice of magistrates and rulers? They can have no selfish interest in the matter; and since Mr. Bellamy assures us that it is not necessary that human nature should be changed, but only a right organization of existing forces secured, why might not such a confidence properly be proposed in the discretion of these gentlemen—and ladies?

Such is Mr. Bellamy's scheme, as completed by the mechanism he proposes for the choice of officers for his new nation. I am sanguine enough to believe that the simplest statement will answer most of the purposes of a laborious refutation. I will only touch upon a few points.

In the first place, the constituency which Mr. Bellamy would create for the choice of "the administration," under his system, is about the worst which could possibly be devised. A more meddlesome, mischief-making, and altogether pestilent body of electors was never called into being. It is a mistake to suppose that a man's selfish interest in a service ceases because he has himself retired from it. There was a time, after the war, when it was almost impossible for the Secretary of the Navy to administer his department, on account of the intermeddling of twenty or thirty retired admirals living in Washington. Men may still have friends and relatives and dependents to promote, leaders and champions to push, not to speak of enemies to punish, long after they have themselves gone upon the retired list.

Equally unreasonable is it to assume that the great mass of ordinary people would be free from selfish, sectional, and partisan impulses in such a system as Mr. Bellamy proposes. Instead of politics being abolished, it would be found that, with five millions of men over forty-five years in the United States, having nothing else to attend to, politics would become the great business of the nation. Parties and factions would be formed under sectional, moral,* or personal im-

* For example, Mr. Bellamy represents his favorite characters as using wine freely. Can any one doubt that within the first few years the in-

pulses, and would carry their contests to a pitch of fury impossible to constituencies most of whose members have a great deal else to do, and that of a very engrossing nature. "Magnetic" leaders would come to the front; "issues" would arise; and all the combativeness and creature-pugnacity of fallen humanity, refused longer occupation in war or in industry, would find full scope in the contests of politics. Doubtless, the whole five millions of veteran male electors, being perfectly free to live where they pleased and to draw their rations where they lived, would at once move to Washington, to be as near the source of power as possible. Doubtless, also, the five million female electors would follow them, to take a hand, to the best possible effect, in the choice of the "woman general-in-chief." Under such attractions, and with no practical business remaining in life, the whole voting population would speedily join the throng at the capital, where power and place were to be fought for. With ten millions of discharged industrial soldiers, having no other business but politics, Washington would become a city in comparison with which, in the fury of its partisanship and factional strife, Rome, under the later Empire, would not deserve to be mentioned.

Secondly, Mr. Bellamy's assumption that, were selfish pecuniary interests to be altogether removed as a motive to action, the sense of duty and the desire of applause would enter fully to take their place, and would inspire all the members of the community to the due exertion of all their powers and faculties for the general good, is utterly gratuitous. Nothing that we read in human history, nothing that we see among existing societies, justifies such a supposition. From the origin of mankind to the present time, the main spur to exertion has been want; and while, with the growth of small-brained into large-brained

dustrial army would be convulsed by contests between a prohibition and a license party; and that when this question was settled, if it ever should be, tea, coffee, and tobacco would come in for the passionate attentions of the Miners and Faxons of that day? Mr. Bellamy's "open theatres" contain all the possibilities of a whole century of active politics.

races, the desire of applause and consideration for the public weal have steadily grown in force as motives to human action, and while, among the higher individuals of the higher races, a delight in labor has even, in a certain degree, come to replace the barbarous indisposition to all kinds of work, it is still, in this age of the world, little short of downright madness to assume that disinterested motives can be altogether trusted to take the place of selfish motives, in human society.

Thirdly, like Mr. George's great work, *Looking Backward* shows, through its whole structure, the perverting effect of a single false notion, having the power to twist out of shape and out of due relation every fact which comes, in any way, at any point, within the field of its influence. It is the notion that military discipline applied to production would work miracles, both in gain and in saving, which has led Mr. Bellamy astray. In sooth, Mr. Bellamy did not turn to the military system of organization because he was a socialist. He became a socialist because he had been moon-struck with a fancy for the military organization and discipline itself. So that, in a sense, militarism is, with him, an end rather than a means. A very funny end, one must admit.

It would be difficult to prove what has been thus asserted, were one left to his book alone, though the domination exerted over the author's mind by this "fixed idea" would suggest that it was the passion for militarism which had made the author a socialist. But we are not left to that source of information. In the May (1889) number of *The Nationalist*, Mr. Bellamy has told us how he came to write *Looking Backward*. He there says that he had, at the outset, "no idea of attempting a serious contribution to the movement of social reform." Indeed, he had never had any affiliations with any class or sect of industrial or social reformers, "nor any particular sympathy with undertakings of the sort." To make the picture he proposed to draw, as unreal as possible, "to secure plenty of elbow-room for the fancy, and prevent awkward collisions between the ideal structure and the hard facts of the real world," he fixed the date of his story in the year A.D. 3000. Starting thus, without any distinct social intention; with "no thought of constructing a house in

which practical men might live, but merely of hanging in mid-air, far out of the reach of the sordid and material world of the present, a cloud-palace for an ideal humanity," Mr. Bellamy began *Looking Backward.*

The opening scene, he tells us, was a grand parade of a departmental division of the industrial army, on the occasion of the annual muster-day, when the young men coming of age that year were mustered into the national service, and those who that year had reached the age of exemption were mustered out. "The solemn pageantry of the great festival of the year; the impressive ceremonial of the oath of duty, taken by the new recruits in the presence of the world-standard; the formal return of the thanks of humanity to the veterans who received their honorable dismissal from service; the review and march-past of the entire body of the local industrial forces, each battalion with its appropriate insignia; the triumphal arches, the garlanded streets, the banquets, the music, the open theatres and pleasure-gardens, with all the features of a gala-day sacred to the civic virtues and the enthusiasm of humanity, furnished materials for a picture exhilarating at least to the painter." No wonder he was fired with martial ardor at his own conception, and felt at once like running away to enlist!

Observe: this is the real germ of Mr. Bellamy's social scheme. He goes on to tell us that, enraptured by the contemplation of the grand review, he began to dwell more and more on the feasibility of applying the modern military system of Europe to the industrial life of every country, by turns, and finally of the world. More and more, as he dwelt on this theme, the possibilities of the subject expanded before him; the difficulties vanished; the time for such a consummation drew near.* Whereas he had at first only thought of utilizing the military system as furnishing "an analogy to lend an effect of feasibility to the fancy sketch I [he] had in hand," he at last, after much working over details, "perceived the full potency of the instrument I [he] was using,

* "Instead of a mere fairy tale of social perfection, it (*Looking Backward*) became the vehicle of a definite scheme of industrial reorganization."

and recognized in the modern military system, not merely a rhetorical analogy for a national industrial service, but its prototype, furnishing at once a complete working model for its organization, an arsenal of patriotic and national motives and arguments for its animation, and the unanswerable demonstration of its feasibility, drawn from the actual experience of whole nations organized and manœuvred as armies."

Fired, as well he might be, by a discovery so momentous, Mr. Bellamy, like Archimedes, rushed from his bath into the streets, shouting Eureka! The date 3000 was incontinently dropped, and that of 2000 substituted; the details of the new scheme were wrought out, even at the sacrifice, as Mr. Bellamy confesses, with a tinge of regret not unbecoming a professional novelist, of some of the doubts and hopes and fears of the predestinated lovers; and *Looking Backward* was put to press as the Koran of a new faith.

I have dwelt thus at length on the genesis of this book, because it is by this path we shall best approach the finished work, for the purposes of examination and criticism. Mr. Bellamy, who is a modest gentleman, does not claim any supernatural powers in thus banishing, at a stroke, poverty and crime, base appetites, sordid ambitions, and mean motives from human society. He does not pose as a wonder-worker; he does not even put on the airs of "a master mind," as if he had the capability of discovering what was beyond the range of ordinary intellects.* On the contrary, he would say that the analogy between a fighting and an industrial army is so manifest that it has often been dwelt upon and used for rhetorical, and even, to a certain extent, for more serious, purposes. What he himself did was simply to press the resemblance further, through almost accidental suggestions of his own mind, until he discovered what any one else might have seen, that there is a strict parallelism between the two, reaching to the fullest extent of both.

But while Mr. Bellamy is thus modest as to his own deserts as a social philosopher, he is sure that there can be no doubt of the virtue of his scheme. He will admit no question that

* "Something in this way it was that, no thanks to myself, I stumbled over the destined corner-stone of the new social order."

his political and industrial mechanism (for, be it remembered, he distinctly disavows the introduction of any new forces into human life or any change in human nature) will work indefinitely larger effects for good than all the efforts of men and nations, all the planning and thinking of philosophers and statesmen, through all the centuries of human history. His book finds the world a scene of social confusion, industrial conflict, and moral disorder ; the year 2000 is to find the world a paradise, in which men can hardly use the good things provided for them, in which armies and jails are unknown, from which vice and crime have practically disappeared. This system is to do, offhand, what Christ's gospel, with its devoted preachers, exemplars, and ministers, its missionaries and its noble army of martyrs, has only made a beginning of in nineteen centuries. Since all these consequences are assumed to follow the application of the national military system to industry, and this alone, it behooves us to scrutinize somewhat closely the analogy which Mr. Bellamy has drawn between industry and war.

What is the purpose of war ? It is to overwhelm and destroy. Such being the purpose of war, what is the problem in war ? It is to concentrate, for a time, perhaps a very short time, superior force, at a critical point, for a supreme effort. This is the single object of all strategy, the end of all tactics. For the purpose of securing such concentration of forces, and the capability of supreme efforts in decisive moments, military organization and discipline are introduced. That armies may be promptly marched and may desperately fight, to the last drop of their blood, through the few fearful hours which are to decide the fate of nations, the soldier must give up his will, his power of choice, his freedom of movement, almost his individuality. Is there anything corresponding to this in industry ? I answer, No. The purpose of industry is, not to destroy, but to create. Even in exchange, where competition is accentuated and intensified to the highest point, destructive antagonism is developed in but a slight degree, and then only as the result of ignorance and greed.

And if the purpose of industry differs thus widely from the purpose of war, how does the problem of industry differ

from that of war? The problem of war is, as we saw, to secure a momentary concentration of superior force, at a critical point, for a supreme effort. The problem of industry is to occupy a vast number of widely separated points, where labor and capital can be employed, not for a single supreme effort, not for a series of spasmodic efforts, but for quiet, orderly, continuous, progressive work. Such a problem presents conditions very different from those presented to an army, crouched for its deadly spring upon an antagonist. Doubtless, industrial forces require to be organized and administered, both firmly and judiciously; but it is not necessary that discipline should be carried so far as to deprive the individual of his initiative, to take from him all freedom of choice, and to subject him to an authority which shall have over him the power of life and death, of honor and disgrace.

We see, then, how utterly fallacious is the analogy which Mr. Bellamy has set up. For the sake of success in war, when war, with all its tremendous consequences, has become inevitable, the men of our race will cheerfully submit to the sternest discipline; but for the conduct of their daily lives, in profound peace—no, thank you! Liberty is too much the law of our life; the traditions of personal freedom, the aspirations for a still larger freedom, are too dear to be surrendered, even for the acute delights of an annual review, with triumphal arches, garlanded streets, banquets, and music.

Nor, while dismissing thus Mr. Bellamy's scheme, can the social philosopher even admit that the object which that scheme proposes is itself desirable. Were the fantasy of a state in which every one should have enough and to spare, in which the conditions of life should cease to be arduous and stern, from which care and solicitude for the future should be banished, and the necessaries, comforts, and wholesome luxuries of life should come easily to all,—were this wild, weak dream shown to be capable of realization, well might the philanthropist exclaim, Alas for mankind! There have been races that have lived without care, without struggle, without pains; but these have never become noble races.

Except for care and struggle and pains, men would never have risen above the intellectual and physical stature of Polynesian savages. There are cares that cark and cares that kill; there are struggles that are unavailing; there are pains that depress, and blight, and dwarf. Well may we look forward to a better state, in which much of the harshness of the human condition shall, by man's own efforts, have been removed. But it was no Bellamy who said that in the sweat of their brows should men eat bread; that with agony should they be born into the world; and that in labor always, in disappointment and defeat often, with anxious thought, and with foreboding that ceases only at the grave, should they live their lives through, dying weary of the struggle, yet rejoicing in the hope of a better fortune and more generous terms for those who are to come after.

Quite as little can we approve of the fundamental law of Mr. Bellamy's military republic, that there should be no distinction of material condition among its members. Mr. Bellamy tries to place this prescription on high ethical grounds; but all his fine phrases * do not disguise the fact that the proposed distribution involves the grossest violation of common honesty, as every plain man understands it. To say that one who produces twice as much as another shall yet have no more, is palpable robbery. It is to make that man for half his time a slave, working for others without reward. It is one of the dangers of transcendental reasoning about

* "His title [to credit on the national shopkeepers] is his humanity. The basis of his claim is the fact that he is a man." That claim is recognized by most Christian nations as valid to the extent of necessary subsistence. To carry that claim further is not only to violate equity, but to set in motion the gravest social and economic evils: witness the history of the English Poor Laws.

Again, Mr. Bellamy says, "The amount of the resulting product has nothing to do with the question [how much a man shall receive], which is one of desert. Desert is a moral question, the amount of product is a material quantity." It would be better to say that a man's effort constitutes his moral desert, which should have a moral reward,—that is, the approval of his conscience, his fellow men, and his God: while his achievement constitutes his economic desert, which should have an economic reward,—that is, wages or profits.

rights and morals, that the finest of sentiments are often found in close proximity to the baldest of rascality.

But the flagrant dishonesty of the proposition to destroy all distinction in the material condition of members of the community is, I make bold to say, the least objection to it. Such a levelling downwards would bring a speedy end of all intellectual and social progress, to be followed, at no late day, by retrogression and relapse. It is only by the distinction of some, that the general character of the mass is to be raised. There are plenty of tribes and races among which Mr. Bellamy's great creative principle of absolute equality of conditions is, and has immemorially been, in full operation. Unfortunately for his case, they are all miserable, imbruted savages. Even the fact that among some of them the additional principle of the selection of chiefs by the elders of the tribe is of unknown antiquity, has not served to lift them in the scale of humanity. They are still poor, squalid wretches, in spite of the adoption of both these prescriptions for turning the earth into a paradise without any intervening change of human nature.

So much for the book. I should have spoken in a very different tone had the author carried out his original purpose, and presented his industrial army avowedly as an ideal. To offer ideals to the contemplation of mankind is well. Even although recognized as utterly impracticable under present conditions, or conditions likely soon to arise, they may have the effect of making men nobler, braver, sweeter, purer. They often serve to exalt the aims of the loftiest minds, and to inspire the humblest and the poorest with renewed courage for their struggle with the actual and the present. But Mr. Bellamy has not chosen to offer his sketch as an ideal. He insists that it is practicable, and immediately practicable; and that nothing but incomprehensible folly and stupidity stand in the way of its realization. Not only so, but he has chosen to stigmatize the existing order in the most violent terms. No epithet short of "wolfish" will fully satisfy him in application to that state of society in which all of us live, and which most of us cordially support, though always

in the hope of steady improvement and progressive amelioration.

It remains to speak, very briefly, of the party to which the book has given rise, calling itself the Nationalist party. The size of this party is altogether unknown. We read one day of a hundred and fifty, and another day of a hundred and eighty Nationalist clubs; but the word "club" has a highly elastic meaning. A club may consist, we know, of only president, secretary, and treasurer; and indeed the Nationalist party, thus far, seems to run mainly to officers. While no one objects to women taking their proportional part in this movement for the regeneration of society, there is yet a suspicion that the Nationalist party of the present time comprises an excess of non-combatants. It is also suspected that, while a large amount of intellect has gone into the movement, comparatively little muscle has been enlisted in the service. The number of actual day-laborers belonging to the party is believed to be small.

At first, as I understand the matter, the platform of the new party was Mr. Bellamy's book, pure and simple; but, more recently, the organ of the party has set forth certain propositions under the title of a Declaration of Principles, as follows:

"The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

"The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and the most cunning.

"Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

"No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition, and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

"But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill-considered changes; we make no war upon individuals;

we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle upon which business is now based.

"The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further, and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation, the people organized, the organic unity of the whole people.

"The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate we pledge our best efforts."

Of the seven paragraphs of which this declaration consists, the larger number are devoted to denunciations of the principle of competition, which it is declared to be the purpose of the party to suppress. The small remainder of the "platform" is occupied by declarations in favor of the "nobler principle of association." Even of the space devoted to this part of the declaration, a half is taken up by a disclaimer of any purpose to effect sudden or violent changes, or to attack individuals who have prospered under the existing system. So that all which remains devoted to the constructive purposes of the party is to be found in these lines:

"The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further, and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation, the people organized, the organic unity of the whole people."

Brief as this is, it will be observed that one half, again, is taken up by an argument, or what was intended for such. The positive part of this declaration of principles is therefore confined within the lines last quoted. Leaving out a considerable part of this as surplusage, we have the purpose of the party expressed in these words: "We seek to have all industries operated in the interest of all, by the nation."

It will be observed that there is here no statement of the means by which this is to be accomplished; no details whatever of the system which it is proposed to set up. We must suppose, therefore, either that the party has not reached a consent regarding the details of the scheme and the means through which it is to be brought into operation, or else that Mr. Bellamy's book is regarded as furnishing all that is needed under these two heads. What I have already said regarding *Looking Backward* may perhaps be accepted as the answer of those who uphold the existing order. But, in any event, I should not feel bound to discuss this new socialist programme, even were details enough given to afford a fair opportunity for criticism. I make the choice, which every combatant has the right to make, between offensive and defensive warfare, and elect to defend the principle of competition.

But I cannot proceed to the defence of competition against the attacks of the Nationalists without pausing a moment to call attention to the very absurd character of the sole proof they offer as to the practicability of their scheme. The lamb-like innocence shown in the declaration that "the combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain, demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association" is, I venture to say, not surpassed in the literature of economics, or even of the comic stage. The essential conditions of a trust, it ought hardly to be necessary to state, are, first, a small inside ring, to profit by the restriction of production and the raising of price; and secondly, a large outside public, to be plundered. A half dozen men gather in a New York hotel, and, over their champagne and cigars, agree to raise the price of their product two cents a pound, which 60,000,000 of people will be obliged to pay, to the full extent of their consumption. For the sake of dividing such a prize, which may amount to millions of dollars, perhaps to millions a year, these men are able to forego their rivalries and jealousies, forget their piques and wrongs, give up their efforts to get ahead of each other, and, for a time, act in concert. To the astute gentlemen who drew the programme I have quoted, the formation of such

a trust " demonstrates the practicability of their basic principle of association," upon which industry is to be carried on by all, in the interest of all, without any inside ring to make a selfish profit, and without any outside public to be plundered. In respect to such a proposition, comment must needs be weaker than statement.

I have said that by far the greater part of the declaration of principles set forth by the Nationalist party consists in the denunciation of competition. " The principle of competition," says the Nationalist platform, " is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and the most cunning." In propositions of such weighty import, it is impossible to use words too carefully ; and I trust, therefore, I shall not be deemed hypercritical in asking, What is the significance of the word " brutal " as thus used ? Inasmuch as it is the law of the survival of the fittest which has developed men from purely animal conditions into the capacity for civilization, it would seem that that principle might more properly be called the human, or anti-brutal, principle. There is an old proverb that says, Speak well of the bridge that has carried you safely over. Mr. Bellamy and his friends should be slow to revile the force which has brought it about that their skulls contain more than thirty ounces of brain-matter, and their foreheads slope backward at an angle of more than forty-five degrees.

It is too often the method of the critics of industrial competition to charge upon that principle all the evils that men suffer under that principle. They neglect to inquire whether these evils are due to the proper force of competition itself, or result from the general hardness of the human lot, the terrible severity with which physical nature presses everywhere upon man ; from accidents and disease ; from vice and crime ; from reckless improvidence in marriage, or wanton waste of opportunities and resources. Do the people of India, where custom and public opinion are almost the sole law, and where competition is scarcely so much as known by name, suffer no hardships ? Are they not devoured by crocodiles ; drowned in rivers ; swept away, in millions, by periodical pestilences ; decimated by famine and famine fevers ?

The fact is, many soft-hearted persons are careless, to the point of absolute dishonesty, in charging upon the existing social organization things which are the proper effects of the constitution of nature on the one hand, or of human wilfulness on the other. I should be the last person to deny or seek to disparage the evils which result from the abuse of competition, since the greater part of my economic work has been devoted to the exposition of those evils and to the consideration of means for their cure. But I must deem any man very shallow in his observation of the facts of life, and utterly lacking in the biological sense, who fails to discern in competition the force to which it is mainly due that mankind have risen from stage to stage, in intellectual, moral, and physical power. Where individual and even, sometimes, wholesale wrong has been done, this has been either as an unavoidable incident of great, perhaps prodigious, gains to humanity as a whole (for example, the applications of steam and the invention of machinery), or else it has been because competition was unequal upon the two sides. Generally speaking, where injury is wrought by competition, it is because there has been, not too much, but too little of it; because, owing to inherited disease and vice, or to the effects of bad political systems, or to wrongs done by power in the past, or to their own recklessness, improvidence, or viciousness in the present, the working classes fail, on their part, to respond adequately to the pressure which the employing class, competing actively among themselves, have brought to bear.

The true remedy is to be found, not in having less of competition, but in having more of it. Perfect competition, equally exerted on both sides, like the pressure of the atmosphere, would result in absolute justice. That would be the ideal economic state, in which no man should ever fail to sell his goods or his service in the highest market, or to buy the goods and the services he requires in the cheapest market. Mr. Bellamy declares that competition is but the expression of the "devil's maxim, 'Your necessity is my opportunity.'" It may be so, for his Satanic Majesty is reputed a very sensible and sagacious gentleman; but it is God's maxim as well.

When I sell my service or my product at the highest attainable price, what does this mean, but that I have found the very person, of all the world, who has the greatest need of it, who can make the most out of it, to whom it will bring the largest satisfaction of wants and desires?

THE EIGHT-HOUR-LAW AGITATION

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THE EIGHT-HOUR-LAW AGITATION.

THE agitation of the question of the hours of labor, which has long been going on, and has of late become very active, now seems to be fast proceeding to a crisis. Apparently, a severe struggle is upon us for the establishment of a rule limiting labor to eight hours a day. This result is to be sought either through the agency of law or by means of organized and widespread strikes. Formal notice has been served upon the industrial world that the contest in the United States is to be opened this year, to be continued unceasingly thereafter, not to close until the full "demands of labor" shall have been conceded, east and west, north and south, in the Old World as in the New.

Of course, those who are directing this movement would much prefer to bring about their end by law rather than through strikes, not only because the former means of accomplishing their object would be less costly than a hand-to-hand struggle with a powerful and resolute master class, but also because it would be more effectual and conclusive, more comprehensive and permanent. Laws may, indeed, be repealed after they have been enacted; or they may remain upon the statute-book, uncancelled but inoperative. Of this, however, the labor champions are willing to take their chance, having confidence in their ability to prevent the repeal of such a law, should it once be enacted, and to secure at least a tolerable degree of efficiency in its execution through their own political influence. But they fully appreciate that whatever is gained by a strike may at any moment be lost by a lockout, whenever, in the changes of the market, the balance inclines to the side of the employing class; and they will not be satisfied until they see their demands incorporated in the law of the land.

The strikes which, unless all signs fail, will soon be precipitated upon this community are to differ from the strikes of the past largely in this: that they will result from quarrels "picked" for the purpose, with reference to general effect; and will be carried on with not the less, but the greater, zeal, because those who order the men out care little for the object immediately contested, except either to win a victory which shall help the cause elsewhere, or, if a defeat be inevitable, to arouse a deeper and wider feeling throughout the laboring population. For the purposes of the American Federation of Labor, a strike which shall fail in its direct object, but shall stimulate the members of a trade to a more resolute purpose to demand and to obtain a law general to all trades, will be better than would be a strike which, effecting its immediate purpose, should leave those who had taken part in it satisfied with the result in their own case, and indifferent to the further progress of the cause. The industrial contests of the coming season are to be, unlike most of those recorded in industrial history, directed straight toward the end of securing legislation. Freed from the pretentious and cumbrous organization of the Knights of Labor, the men who now deem themselves charged with promoting the interests of the working classes will wield powers, greater than the Knights ever possessed, to initiate and conduct a series of strikes which shall essentially be nothing but a mighty agitation of the question of eight-hour legislation. It is, therefore, not of the strikes themselves, but of the proposed legislation, that I shall speak.

And, in the first place, let it be said that there is no fatal objection to the intervention of the state in the contract for labor. The traditional position of the economists in antagonism to such legislation, upon principle, is one which ought never to have been taken, and which cannot be maintained. The factory acts of England, which have become a model to the world, are in themselves a monument of prudent, far-seeing, truly wise statesmanship, which employs the powers of the state to defend its citizenship against deep and irreparable injuries, and truly helps the people to help themselves. Beginning at a time when the condition of the masses was

wretched and deplorable beyond the power of language to describe, the factory legislation of England, judiciously combined with laws directed towards fostering the instincts of frugality, towards promoting the spread of intelligence, towards adjusting the burden of taxation to the strength and the weakness of the public body, has done a marvellous work in elevating the masses of the Kingdom.

The objection of the economists to factory legislation was, I have said, not well taken. That objection was based on the theory that whatever interferes in any way with the freedom of contract and of action must, in the end and in the long run, injure the working classes. But what is freedom, so far as practical men are concerned with it? Is it an empty right to do something which you cannot possibly do? Or is it a real power to do that one, out of many things, which you shall choose? If one course gives a man a legal right to do anything, but results in his being so helpless, and brings him into such miserable straits that he can, in fact, do but one thing, and that a thing which is most distressing; while another course, although it may keep a man somewhat within bounds, actually conducts him to a position where he has a real choice among many and good things, which course affords the larger liberty?

In the case of a poor, ignorant, and debased population, the absence of factory acts, while it nominally leaves the operative free to go anywhere and do whatever he likes, really results in his staying hopelessly where he finds himself, and doing that which he particularly dislikes. He becomes the slave of the mill, bound fast to the great wheel which turns and turns below. Theoretically, he will not work in any factory where he is not well treated, where the sanitary arrangements are not at least tolerable, where machinery is not fenced to prevent death and mutilation, and where the hours of labor are not kept within the limits of health and strength. Certainly he will not do this if he be really free. Practically, however, in the absence of factory legislation, the operative will have no choice but to work as long as the great wheel turns, be that ten hours, as so generally now, or twelve, or fourteen, or sixteen, as in the days

before the factory laws; he will see his companions bruised and mangled by unguarded machinery; he will all the time breathe air deeply laden with poisonous particles or deadly gases. Theoretically, the operative will, under unregulated freedom of movement and of contract, place himself with reference to the comfort of his family and the education of his children for a career happier than his own. Practically, he will, under the pressure of dire necessity, put his children into the mill as soon as he can get them there, even if it be, as in the old hideous days, at ten, at seven, or at five years of age; and in the mill they will stay until they die. This is what will come to most laboring populations in the absence of factory laws. Are such populations really freer than those which are protected by law against gross abuse?

The error of the English economists lay in not seeing that freedom of movement, freedom of action, freedom of contract, are practical matters; and that industrial, like political, systems, should be adapted to the needs and wants, the infirmities and evil liabilities, of the populations they are to serve. A crutch acts only by restraint, and, to a sound man, would be a hinderance and a burden. But is a cripple without a crutch a freer man than a cripple with a crutch? In the case of the latter, does not the instrument correspond to an existing infirmity in such a way that he has a much greater liberty and power of choice and of movement through its help?

But while, thus, the principle of factory legislation is fully vindicated, it does not follow that any law which it may please a given number of persons to demand, or a legislature under popular impulse to enact, will be found beneficial. Restraint can at the best prevent waste. It cannot create force. The fact that a certain degree of interference with the contract for labor has done good, and only good, does not even raise a presumption that further interference will do any good at all. The result may be found altogether the other way. The presumption is always against the intervention of the law in private actions; and that presumption can only be overcome, in any given case, by strong and direct evidence that it is needed to prevent some deep and irreparable injury.

What are the arguments in favor of a general eight-hour law ? *

A familiar plea for this measure is that a larger amount of leisure time is the laborer's rightful share in the great increase of productive power derived from the introduction of steam, the invention of machinery, and the discovery of a thousand useful arts and processes. These things have vastly enhanced, and are still every year enhancing, the productive capability of the community, enabling it to produce more in the same time, or as much in a shorter time. Let, then, the working class take out at least a part of the increased dividend which should come to them from this general gain, in the form of a greater amount of leisure, a shorter day of labor. Even if this means that they are to forego some part of the enhanced wages which they might expect to realize from working for the old number of hours, with the more powerful auxiliaries and the better tools supplied by science and invention, it is still the right of the working classes to take their benefit in this form, if they elect. If additional time for social enjoyment, for amusement and recreation, for reading and study, for public duties, for politics, if you please, is worth more to them than an additional dividend of food and clothing, they should have it. What may be said in answer to this demand ?

In the first place, let me say that I have small sympathy with the views so frequently, and it seems to me brutally,

* I shall refer to the arguments more frequently urged in the United States, in support of the demand for the immediate adoption of a general eight-hour law. In England, those who advocate a reduction of the hours of labor are much more conservative and reasonable than with us. Mr. Sidney Webb, one of the best and strongest of the English socialists, in his very able article on "The Limitation of the Hours of Labor," in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1889, says: "It is not, of course, suggested that a universal and compulsory restriction of the hours of labor to eight per day could possibly be brought about by any one Act of Parliament, or even merely by force of law at all. . . . It may be admitted that the hours of labor in any particular industry can only be adjusted by the negotiations of those concerned in that industry, and that any uniform law is impossible." Mr. George Gunton, more than any one else, seems to be put forward by the American eight-hour agitators as their champion.

expressed, that the working classes have no need for leisure, beyond the bare necessities of physical rest and repose, to get ready for the morrow's work; that they do not know what to do with vacant hours; and that a shortening of the term of labor would simply mean idleness at the best, and would, in the great majority of cases, lead to an increase of dissipation and drunkenness. Is it our fellow beings, our own countrymen, of whom we are speaking? It seems to me that this talk about the inability of the working classes to make a good use of leisure, as a reason for not letting them have any; about the hours that might be gained from toil being surely spent in dissipation and riot; about keeping the laborer at work all day in order to keep him out of mischief—is the poorest sort of pessimistic nonsense. It is closely akin to what we used to hear about slavery being a humane and beneficent institution, of a highly educational character. It is akin to the reason given by despots to-day for not enlarging the liberties of the subject.

Work, hard work, and a great deal of it, is good for men. We are made for earnest, strenuous, sustained endeavor; and industry has its rewards, sanitary and moral, as well as economic. The state of general repletion amid abundant leisure, which Mr. Bellamy has depicted in his *Looking Backward*, would be tedious to the last degree; and Dr. Holmes has well said that, in such a state, "intoxication and suicide" would take on the character of popular amusements. But we have no occasion to fear that anywhere, save only in the pages of a novel, shall we find the men of our race excused from any part of the labor that is for their good. The stern severity of nature within our zone, and the general hardness of the human lot, are not likely to be soon relaxed to any dangerous extent, through all the inventions and discoveries of which the human mind is capable.

But while we thus recognize hard work as the general lot of mankind, and rejoice in it, we may well desire that somewhat more, and much more, of leisure and of recreation should mingle with the daily life of our fellows than is now known to most of them. It is a pity, it is a great pity, that working men should not see more of their families by day-

light; should not have more time for friendly converse or for distinct amusements; should not have larger opportunities for social and public affairs. Doubtless many would always, and still more would at first, put the newly acquired leisure to uses that were lower than the best, were perhaps far from edifying, were even, in instances, mischievous and injurious. But the larger part of this would be due to the fact, not that the time now granted was too great, but that the time previously granted had been too small. Experience of the bitter and the sweet, in this as in most human affairs, would eventually cure the greater part of the evil. Doubtless there would still remain many who, from vitiated tastes or tainted blood, would continue to put their enlarged freedom to a bad use. But such men, who might, it is conceded, become even worse men with more leisure, are not to furnish the rule for the great majority, who are decent, sober, and careful, fearing God and loving their families. And for such, I say, more of time released from the grasp of physical necessities is a thing to be desired.

If, at present, this boon cannot be obtained, let us charge it to the general hardness of the human lot, to the severity with which nature presses all the time upon men; but let us not, to keep the working classes quiet, pretend to believe that the object itself is not desirable. For one, I should be very sorry to think that the time would not come when eight hours would be held to constitute a fair day's work in most trades and professions. Within the past forty years there has been a great reduction in the hours of labor throughout the most progressive nations, and the effect thus far has been plainly and largely for good. This might be carried much further, with results ever more and more beneficial. Even without force of law or serious contests with employers, this is likely to go forward of itself, more or less rapidly; changing the hours here from eleven to ten, and there from ten to nine, or possibly from nine to eight, the trades taken for the earliest reductions being precisely those within which, from the character of their membership, the added leisure will be most judiciously, soberly, and temperately enjoyed.

I have said that much has already been gained by the work-

ing classes, in this matter of the length of the working-day. There is an unfortunate tendency, on the part of those who especially affect to advocate the interests of the laborers, to misrepresent the facts of the case. They ask, Why, since the productive power of the community has increased so largely, has the laborer derived no benefit therefrom? Let any one read the description which Mr. Hyndman, a socialist, gives of the state of English labor so late as 1842, in his work *The Historical Basis of English Socialism*, and he cannot fail to be impressed with the reduction which has taken place in the hours of labor since that time. Moreover, the workman has, at least in all the trades covered by the factory and workshop acts, had the advantage of a vast improvement in the conditions under which his labor is performed, as to comfort, decency, health, and physical safety: which, by the way, constitute about the most expensive luxuries known to modern life.* Still again, the workman has largely gained in actual money wages. So that, when it is asked why the workman has had no share in the great gain of productive power occurring within the half century, we answer, simply, that he has had a share in it, and no inconsiderable share. He works through fewer hours, in cleaner, safer, healthier factories, for higher wages.

This is not to say that more is not to come. The working classes could have had more already, under the conditions existing, had they understood their interests better, and followed them up more closely and actively.† There is no reason to suppose that the possibilities of gain in this direction have been exhausted. As compared with any industrial state that ever has been known, the laborer of to-day has it

* The cost of building and maintaining factories in accordance with the demands of modern public sentiment, and even with the requirements of law, including more room to each operative, fire escapes, artificial ventilation, the guarding of machinery, etc., is very great. For most of these things, in private houses, men have to pay a heavy price.

† The present writer has for many years maintained the thesis that it is not only for the welfare of the community, but even for the advantage of the employing class themselves, that laborers should actively and urgently assert their own interests in the distribution of the product of industry.

in his power to do still better for himself, by greater care and pains, higher intelligence, stricter temperance. It is not unlikely, it is indeed most probable, that a part of the gain of the future will take the form of a further reduction of the hours of labor, in many, perhaps most, possibly all, trades and professions.

The second plea which is made for a universal eight-hour law drops the idea that the laborer is to accept a reduction in the length of the working-day as a part of his wages,—the idea that the leisure thus obtained is to be, as it were, one form of his consumption of wealth,—he taking this instead of more food or more clothing, or better shelter, or what not. I say, the new plea for the eight-hour law drops the first notion, and bases itself upon the theory that, on the whole and in the long run, labor continued through only eight hours will yield as great a product, to be divided among the several classes of the community, as labor continued through the present somewhat varying term, from ten hours, say, to eleven or twelve.

Now, this claim is not, on its face, absurd. The rule of three cannot be applied to human labor without respect to conditions and circumstances innumerable. There is little doubt that all the successive reductions in the working-day which have thus far taken place among certain laboring populations have resulted in an immediate gain to production, while they have led to a still further increase of productive power in the generation following. It has probably never occurred that a reduction of working time has been all loss, since a somewhat increased activity, a somewhat enhanced energy, has characterized each part of the time remaining.

Let us take successive cases. Let it first be supposed that a community exists under the sway of a greedy, remorseless tyrant, who compels all the able-bodied members of the community to labor in his fields or shops twenty hours a day, leaving but four hours for sleep, rest, and domestic duties or enjoyments. Now let it be supposed that this ruler is succeeded by a son, to the full as selfish as himself, but more intelligent. Doubtless it would not be long before the new-

comer discovered that it was for his own interest to reduce the hours of labor to eighteen; and it would require no protracted experience of the new system to demonstrate that more wealth was actually produced in eighteen than had been in twenty hours. We may next suppose that, years later, the grandson of the first ruler is brought, by petition or by threatened rebellion, to consider the question whether he should reduce the number of hours from eighteen to fifteen. He would, at the outset, take this as a proposition to surrender one-sixth of his product for the pleasure and comfort of his working men,—a proposition to which he would not graciously incline. But if he were as much wiser than his father, as his father was wiser than his grandfather, he would soon come to see that this would not be so; that, at the worst, something less than a one-sixth loss would be involved in the change, since, for the fifteen hours remaining, the laborers both could and doubtless would work with somewhat more, perhaps much more, spirit than they could possibly do when worn out in body and mind by the longer day of labor. Should this more enlightened ruler call to his counsels the best physiologists and physicians, his most sagacious ministers, superintendents, and foremen, he would without much difficulty be brought to believe that the proposed reduction of time would involve no loss whatever to production; and trial would soon demonstrate to him and to the most sceptical of his advisers that protracting the hours of labor beyond the capabilities of the human frame had not been a source of gain, but of waste,—hideous, appalling waste.

Now, fifteen hours not unfairly represent the average day of work in European factories and workshops, at the time when the attention of legislators first began to be directed towards the condition of the less fortunate classes, and when those classes begin first to stir in their own behalf. It is the general belief of intelligent and disinterested men that every successive reduction in the hours of labor, from that point until a limit was reached of, say, eleven hours a day in ordinary mechanical pursuits, effected, not a proportional loss of product, not a loss at all, but a positive gain, especially

if not only the present productive power of the body of laborers is considered, but also the keeping up of the supply of labor in full numbers and in unimpaired strength, from generation to generation.

Personally, I should not hesitate to express the opinion that the further reduction from eleven hours to ten had been accomplished in some communities, like Massachusetts, without any appreciable loss to production, and with a clear social and physiological advantage to the community; but here we enter upon disputed ground. In our own highly prosperous country, with a body of laborers generally intelligent and always active in maintaining their interests, armed, moreover, with the ballot, that interval between ten and eleven hours still remains debatable ground. In some States, eleven hours a day is the upward limit of factory labor; in others, lying side by side with these, the limit is ten hours. Both sides of the question, as to the effect upon production of a ten-hour restriction, are held by intelligent men. There is, however, enough of evidence in favor of the generally beneficial result, to make it safe to say that, whenever the great body of laborers in any State now allowing eleven hours of factory labor are fully satisfied that the reduction to ten hours will, on the whole and in the long run, be for their own good, the step will probably be taken, with but little opposition or delay. The fact that there has not been in these States any great, sustained, resolute effort to secure a reduction of the hours of labor from eleven to ten, shows clearly enough that the laborers themselves are not yet fully convinced that a reduction of the daily term of work would be for their own interests.

But the labor champions are not content to win this single step, all within the grounds of a reasonable difference of opinion. Without waiting at this point to secure a general concurrence in a ten-hour limit, and thereupon to collect evidence of the favorable result of such action, they now boldly propose to compel the industries of the country to take all at once the tremendous plunge to eight hours. And this change they propose to effect, so far as political agitation, coupled with a series of well-advised and resolute strikes will

enable them to do it, in application, not alone to the industries whose products, like those of the building trades generally, are only in a low degree, if at all, subject to competition with the corresponding products of other communities, but in application as well to industries whose products are in the highest degree subject both to interstate and to international competition ; in application not more to the industries where hand tools are used, and where the personal energy and enthusiasm of the individual artisan determine his rate of movement, than to industries where machinery is extensively employed, and where the rate of the operative's movement is determined wholly by the movement of such machinery ; in application not to mechanical labor only, but to all labor,—if I rightly understand the programme,—whether employed in manufactures, in commerce, in transportation, in agriculture, or in personal services.

It is not improbable that there are some trades, especially the hand-tool trades, where the work is naturally severe, and in which the personal energy and enthusiasm of the individual laborer largely determine the rate of his movement, in respect to which the contention that a body of laborers could in the long run do as much in eight hours as in ten, might be borne out by trial. Many disinterested and intelligent persons believe that, within these trades, a day of nine hours would be quite sufficient for the most effective labor ; and in some cities that rule has already been established, either by mutual consent of masters and men, or as the result of severe and protracted contests. But that an eight-hour day, or even a nine-hour day, could be legally enforced within all occupations alike, or even only within the manufacturing and mechanical industries, without a loss, a considerable loss, to production, is not borne out by any facts that are known or by any reasons which have been advanced. The proposition as yet remains a mere assertion.

We now reach the third plea for a general eight-hour law, namely, that the effect would be to furnish employment to those who, under the existing system, cannot find a chance to work. This is, at present, the most popular and taking argument adduced in behalf of this measure. In order to give the

argument greater effect, gross exaggeration is resorted to in stating the number habitually unemployed, which is sometimes placed as high as one-fifth or one-quarter of the laboring population. One writer speaks of the unemployed as "the reserve army of industry."

The fallacy of this argument lies in its assumption that the reason why a certain portion of the population cannot get work is because those who are employed work as long as they do, say ten hours a day. But what are these persons doing during the ninth and the tenth hour? Each of them is producing goods which are to become a part of the means of paying other laborers for their ninth and tenth hours of work. To prevent any man from working up to the limits of his strength is not to increase, but to diminish, the amount which is available for keeping others at work.

Of course, if, by this plea for a general eight-hour law, it is merely intended to divide up a given amount of employment and a given sum of wages among a larger number of laborers, there is nothing to be said about it, except that it is a very good-natured proposal, and that its acceptance would indicate an unexpectedly large amount of benevolence on the part of the more fortunate members of the working class. But it is no such self-sacrificing measure which the labor champions propose to their followers. They mean to be understood as promising that the whole body shall be employed at undiminished wages.* Now, such an expectation would be utterly irrational, except upon the assumption that laborers are to produce as much in eight hours as formerly in ten. But if they are to produce as much in eight hours as formerly in ten, then the old number of workers will in eight hours produce all the goods for which, according to the economic philosophy of their leaders and teachers, there is a demand.† Why, then, should the employers take on any additional

* Mr. Gunton even promises increased wages.

† Mr. Gunton speaks repeatedly of "the present normal consumption," as if there were any reason why consumption is as large as it is, outside of the fact that production is as large as it is; as if consumption would not rapidly increase with increasing production, or contract with diminishing production.

laborers? If, on the other hand, less is to be produced in eight hours than in ten, then the additional laborers cannot be taken on to piece out the day's work, without a general lowering of wages. When a manufacturer employs a hundred men ten hours a day, it is because he wants *a thousand hours of work*, with which to produce a certain quantity of goods of a certain kind and quality, out of the sale of which he expects to make himself good for wages and materials, for the use of machinery and plant, with at least some small profit for himself. If he is to employ a hundred and twenty-five men for eight hours only, he still gets but a thousand hours of work, for which he can only pay the wages of a thousand hours.

How wide open is the pit into which those who urge this plea for an eight-hour law have stumbled, may be seen in the following extract from Mr. Gunton's argument, seriously put forward by the American Federation of Labor as a campaign document. The italics are mine:

> "The immediate effect of the adoption of an eight-hour workday would be to reduce the working time of over eight million adult laborers about two hours a day. This would withdraw about sixteen million *hours' labor* a day from the market without discharging a single laborer. The industrial vacuum thus created would be equal to increasing the present *demand for labor* nearly 20 per cent."

Ought it to surprise us that, after such a demonstration, Mr. Gunton should easily make it out that the proposed measure would actually increase the wages of all laborers? But why Mr. Gunton should be content with increasing the demand for labor by a paltry 20 per cent, when, by allowing laborers to work only one hour a day, he could increase the "demand for labor" 900 per cent, it is hard to understand.

It is scarcely necessary to say that, although Mr. Gunton regards the substitution of ten million laborers working eight hours a day for eight million laborers working ten hours a day as increasing the demand for labor by 20 per cent, there is, in fact, no increase whatever in the demand for labor. In either of Mr. Gunton's two cases the demand is for eighty million hours' labor a day; no more, no less.

Whatever may be said for an eight-hour day of labor (and I have conceded that not a little may be urged in favor of a reduction of the working-day in many trades, at least), the plea derived from its imagined effect in setting the unemployed at work is utterly fallacious. The failure of employment for a certain portion of the population is not found at all in the fact that those who are employed work as long as they do. *The longer and the harder a man works,* within the limits of his strength, *the more work he makes for others;* since with every stroke, he is producing that which is to become a part of the means of employing other labor. The reason why, in ordinary seasons, there are any persons unemployed, is found partly in the immobility of the laboring population, in the want of general and technical education, in vicious and improvident habits, or in the accidents of life and the general hardship of the human lot. In even greater part, the reason is found in the fluctuations of production and trade, due to the world-wide extension of the division of labor, and the consequent extreme localization and intensification of industry. This is the price which mankind have to pay for the enormous advantages of the extension of the principle of the division of labor.

The evil is not to be cured, in whole or in part, by an eight-hour law. If it were true that only four fifths of the population are employed at ten hours, and if, by an eight-hour law, the other fifth were, as proposed, brought into the factories and workshops, every cause which now operates to produce fluctuations in industry and trade would continue with undiminished vigor; production would still gather itself into great waves, periods of highly excited activity being followed by intervals of deep depression; markets would still at times be glutted, and factories would have to be closed to allow the surplus stock to be cleared off. The spread of intelligence, the general and technical education of the people, the promotion of habits of frugality and temperance, and not eight-hour laws, are the proper means for removing the painful congestions of labor, and for reducing to a minimum the evils of that spasmodic and intermittent production of wealth which characterize the industrial and commercial world of to-day,

and which must continue to characterize the industrial and commerical world until mankind get ready to go back to hand-tools and to the petty neighborhood production of a former age.

I have spoken, I trust not unfairly, of the arguments urged for an eight-hour law applicable to all industries. Let me now offer a few objections which present themselves to my mind.

In the first place, it is a matter of very grave question whether the reduction of the hours of labor, say from ten to eight, even if admitted to be highly desirable, constitutes one of those cases which justify interference by the state; whether, on the other hand, it is not a matter which should be left to debate and decision between employers and laborers: the former retaining their right to grant or refuse the demand; the latter exercising their unquestioned right to refuse, individually or collectively, to work except upon terms agreeable to themselves.

I have expressed no grudging approval of the intervention of the state in bringing down the hours of labor from fifteen or thirteen to eleven or ten. The term of daily work which prevailed at the time when the greed of masters was utterly unrestrained by law, meant the degradation and demoralization of the working classes, and produced a hideous mass of disease, vice, and crime, tending always to become congenital. Out of such a slough it is the right and duty of any government to raise its people, by main force, through the strong arm of the law. But when laboring populations have once been placed upon ground firm enough for them to gain a fair foothold and to get a leverage for their own exertions, it is, according to my political philosophy, much better that they should thereafter be left to make progress to successively higher planes through their own strength, skill, and courage. The state, clearly, should protect its citizens against deep and irremediable injury from forces which they may be powerless to resist; but such social and intellectual advantages as might accrue from a further reduction of the hours of labor will be most fully enjoyed and will be best improved when they shall

have been won by the fortitude, patience, and persistent application of the laborers themselves.

Second. In addition to the foregoing, we are bound to take consideration of the rights of the minority in such a matter. If six hundred working men are willing and desirous to secure greater leisure at the sacrifice of some part of their wages, have they the moral right, by a mere majority of votes, to refuse to four hundred of their fellows the privilege of earning all the wages they can in a longer day of work, always within the limits of health ?

Third. Conceding for the moment the desirableness of a further reduction in the hours of labor, it seems to me a very grave mistake to undertake so long a step at once as that which is proposed, from ten hours or more, to eight. If the final result is altogether desirable and is to come, it would be far better that it should be undertaken gradually : first, because there would thus be produced less disturbance to industry and trade ; next, because the more moderate enterprise would have a better chance ; and, again, because, in case of ultimate success, the working classes would, by that time and through those means, have become more fully educated to use the privilege of increasing leisure without abusing it.

Fourth. But would a uniform eight-hour law, applicable to all trades and vocations, be a measure of ordinary justice as between workman and workman ? Conceding a considerable reduction in the hours of labor, can one rule ever be applied to all branches of industry ? Do not the several trades and vocations differ so widely among themselves, in the conditions under which they may be pursued, as to make any single rule the height of injustice ? The term of work—that is, the number of hours a day—is but one of several factors which make up the sum that represents the muscular and nervous exhaustion involved in the pursuit of any vocation. Another factor is the intensity of exertion, which varies, and must vary, within very wide limits, according to the nature of the industry concerned. Again, the physiological conditions under which labor is conducted are of importance in determining the degree of nervous exhaustion. One industry

must of necessity subject its operatives to intense heat or to intense cold. Still others are pursued in an almost stifling atmosphere. Others allow the access of dangerous particles or poisonous gases. On the other hand, there are industries pursued by hundreds of millions of our kind, which furnish the most benignant influences, or at least require their laborers to submit to no conditions injurious to life or health.

Still again, the length of the working year varies greatly with different vocations. Some may be pursued steadily for twelve months, alike through summer and winter, seed-time and harvest ; others have a working year of but eight or fewer months. Is it then possible, will it ever be possible, so to control the conditions under which labor is conducted, as to make it compatible with political justice, or even with ordinary honesty as between man and man, to prescribe the same number of hours per day for all ?

DEMOCRACY AND WEALTH

The Forum, VOL. 10 (1890), PP. 245–48

Only a small portion of the article bearing the foregoing title is here reprinted. The complete paper is a criticism of an article published in the *Forum* in the previous August, written by Dr. Lyman Abbott, on *Industrial Democracy*. Mr. Walker's contribution as a whole is largely controversial, and of special interest only when read in connection with the essay by Dr. Abbott.

DEMOCRACY AND WEALTH.

I AM not disposed to take issue with Dr. Abbott as to the existence of much that is inequitable in the distribution of wealth. That in this present evil world, with so much of hardship and wrong everywhere, there should not be hardship and wrong here, would be a monstrous proposition. The law, "To him that hath shall be given," antedates the stone tables of Sinai. It is in the very nature of things. How far a theologian shall quarrel with it, is not for a layman to say; but this, at any rate, is the greatest of all forces which produce gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth. Moreover, violence and fraud operate and will operate in all departments of human life, in wealth as well as in others. As to the situation in our own land, Dr. Abbott adopts the opinion of "a friend, an authority on economics," that "one per cent of the families of America [the United States, doubtless] own as much as the remaining ninety-nine per cent." Without disputing that estimate, it remains to be said that this way of putting the thing is not likely to produce the most just impression. To say that one per cent of the families own fifty per cent of the wealth, will inevitably, to most minds, mean that ninety-nine per cent of the families receive but one half of the wealth that is produced. Such a conception is false. The statement quoted relates only to accumulated wealth, not to current production. I believe that an investigation into the application of the annual income of the country would show that not more than ten per cent, or, at the highest, twelve per cent, of that revenue goes to the favored class referred to. Now, to say that ninety-nine per cent of the families receive only eighty-eight or ninety per cent of the national income, produces a much less startling effect of unfairness than to say that one per cent of

the families own fifty per cent of the wealth. Nevertheless, the fact that so small a part of the population enjoys so much as one tenth or one eighth of the national income, fairly raises the issue of equity which Dr. Abbott discusses. The question is, whether the income of the propertied classes corresponds tolerably well to real economic services rendered through the use of their wealth in production, or whether it is, in some large degree, obtained by such force or fraud or undue advantage as legislation might check or remove.

Dr. Abbott undertakes to point out several ways in which the share of the propertied classes in the national revenue is unjustly enhanced. A critical detailed examination of all he alleges could not be brought within the compass of a *Forum* article. Let us take the two points which are far the most important. In the first place, he indicates the railways as the means by which a large part of the wealth of the country has been made to pass, without economic desert, into the hands of the favored one per cent. Estimating the aggregate value of our railways at $8,000,000,000, he declares that this has been acquired by railroad kings in taking as their own the public highways. Now, there doubtless have been cases where franchises, known at the time to be valuable, have been injudiciously, or even corruptly, parted with by the state, for private gain. Jacob Sharp's Broadway horse railway was clearly enough such a case. Perhaps the elevated roads of New York City afford another instance. Possibly the New Jersey Central and the Pennsylvania Central might be mentioned in this connection. But, in regard to the vast majority of the ordinary steam railways of the United States, the indisputable fact is that, at the time they were chartered, the franchises were not highly valuable, if, indeed, they had any market value at all. In regard to many of them, the original investors were moved quite as much by public spirit as by considerations of private interest. Take the old Western Railway, for example, now the larger part of the Boston and Albany. To secure the capital for this road, public meetings were held, at one of which, if I rightly remember, Edward Everett presided. The citizens of Boston and of the towns along the projected route were urgently appealed to, as for

the general good. Every fresh subscription was greeted with applause. On the completion of the road, a great banquet was given at Albany, at which Governor Seward presided and toasted the projectors of the enterprise as public benefactors. Substantially that which has been said of this case could be said of hundreds of other roads, little or big, which were built under individual charters. But Dr. Abbott's assumption that valuable franchises have been improperly given away for private emolument, is made even more conspicuously inexact by the fact that over a large portion of the United States there have, almost from the beginning, existed "general railway laws," under which any body of persons, by giving public notice of their intention, by filing maps of the location in an office of record, and perhaps by laying down some small part of the ultimate cost, could build a road anywhere, without going to a legislature at all.

Nor is it true that, the railways having been thus built by general consent, and having been made private property by law, the owners and managers have used the advantage given them to bleed the public. The history of railway rates in this country presents a wonderful record of charges reduced, and further reduced, and still again reduced, until, to-day, goods and passengers are carried at rates often less than the proper cost of the service; so low, indeed, as to be, in the broadest view, injurious to the public interest. In an address to the working men of Providence, in 1886, Mr. Edward Atkinson stated that, in 1865, the Vanderbilt roads charged $3.45 for carrying a barrel of flour from Chicago to Boston. In 1885 the charge had been reduced to 68 cents. The profit to the railway by the transaction was 14 cents, or less than the value of the empty barrel. A very large part of our railway mileage to-day pays no dividends on stock; much of it does not even pay interest on the bonds issued for its construction. It is doubtful whether the present value of the stock and bonds of all the roads in the country equals the amount which would be needed to build and equip the system anew. True, some vast fortunes have been improperly made in railway operations; but this has been at the expense, not of the general public, but of the stockholders or bondhold-

ers, through breaches of trust, in a great variety of rascally forms, on the part of directors and managers. These abuses the law has not yet effectually reached. The generation in which a new social evil arises seldom learns to deal fully with it; and the administration of trusts, on the enormous scale of modern commercial enterprise, presents perhaps the greatest problem of the coming age. Another large part of the wealth acquired through railways has been made simply by speculation in them, either by directors and managers who have had secret information and other unfair advantages, or by outsiders. This wealth is not obtained necessarily at any cost to the stockholders or at the expense of the general community.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

The following passages are taken from a manuscript lecture. In preparing this for publication it has been necessary to omit some illustrations and references which the author did not work out in a finished form.

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

English and American political economists generally, have not given much time to the defence of private property, on grounds either of right or of public policy. They have assumed it as the order of things in all civilized and progressive countries. Some of them have not even deemed it necessary to mention it, in terms.

Adam Smith, so far as I know, did not even take the trouble to assert the right of property, much less to demonstrate it. In the copious indices to the editions of his *Wealth of Nations,* published by McCulloch and by Thorold Rogers, the only reference to property right is in the following paragraph :

"The property which every man has in his own labor, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper, without injury to his neighbor, is a plain violation of this most sacred property," * etc.

It here appears that Dr. Smith, without first establishing the right of property by argument, without even asserting that right, assumes it as admitted, and appeals to it as to an ultimate fact, arguing that because property is sacred, the right to control one's own labor (through which wealth, the subject of property, is created) is also sacred. Therefore, tariffs for protection, and all laws and regulations impairing the freedom of contract and movement, are a plain violation of natural right. Nothing could have shown more strikingly how complete was the assumption of the right of private property,

* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations,* Book I, Chapter x.

in the mind of Adam Smith. He did not think it worth while even to show that, historically, this had not always been the order of things.

The French writers, badly scared by the spoliatory instincts of their people, as developed in the first Revolution, and again in the Revolution of 1848, generally enter upon a distinct defence of private property, and try to establish both its economic expediency and its public justice. Strictly as some of the most admirable of the French economists adhere, in other respects, to the scientific treatment of this subject, nearly all, under the impulse indicated (perhaps, now, more or less as the result of fashion), undertake a defence of property right. Foremost among other advocates of the right of property is Frederic Bastiat, who, in addition to establishing to his own satisfaction the political justice of private property, undertook the far harder task of indicating the actual distribution of wealth under that *régime*. The German writers also go deeply into the conception of private property, treating it both from the point of view of ethics and from that of economics.

Let me, however, attempt to characterize briefly, and roughly to classify, the principal views regarding property which are and have been held.

First. There is what I may venture to call the *sacrosanct* view of property, according to which the right of property is regarded as something almost awfully sacred, having the deepest possible sanction in nature or in God. By this view, the relation of the producer to his product forms a mysterious bond, establishing a connection only dissoluble at his will. He may sell his product, but until he chooses to part with it, it is his own so perfectly that neither state nor individual can limit his use of it (if not prejudicial to others) ; and after he has sold it, the proceeds are his so completely that it is sheer robbery if he is deprived of them or any part of them, for any reason whatsoever. To say that the relationship, by this view existing between the producer and the product, is as tender, as close, as mysterious as that between the parent and the child, is to understate the case. According to the opinions of writers of this school, the rights of property are

far more sacred than those of liberty or life, for it is admitted that the state can, for many a reason not affecting even its own existence or independence, summon its citizens to arms and compel them to travel, to watch, to fight, and even to die for the public interest, without compensation (for what compensation can there be for life ?) ; yet the state cannot disregard the rights of property, in any degree, for any purpose, without becoming a robber. This may be illustrated in the paragraph from Adam Smith, already quoted.

Second. We have the qualified view of the sacredness of property right, by which it is held to have a special moral sanctity attaching to it, yet to be subject to control by the state for the public good. Those who hold this view are amenable to reason on a question regarding the rightfulness or wrongfulness of a proposed invasion of property right. They do not put the right of property above those of liberty and life.

Third. There is the utilitarian view of the property right, according to which a sufficient sanction for those rights is found in the fact (alleged by those who hold this view) that, on the whole and in the long run, the greatest good of the greatest number is clearly secured by the conservation of private property. Those of us who hold this view do not find it necessary to seek the justification of private property in a divine ordinance. We do not even feel bound too show that it is fully what people choose to call a "natural right," such as is asserted in the American Declaration of Independence. We might even go so far as to conclude that in some stages of social progress and industrial development, an altogether different system would be better than this; and yet we shall, according to our prevailing philosophy, have an ample vindication of the rights of property in the fact (if proved, or admitted, or made to appear reasonably probable) that, in our time and in our country, now and here, this system makes the community and the state stronger, richer, happier. We ask no other sanction than this. Whatever, in the whole and in the long run, broadly considered, does good to men, we hold it to be right.

Fourth. We have the view that property is not rightfully

in the individual at all, but in the family or clan. This view rests largely upon historical considerations drawn from such works as Maine's *Village Community,* and Hearn's *Aryan Household.*

Fifth. Lastly, we have what we may call the hostile view, viz., that the title to wealth is not rightfully in the individual nor in the family, nor even in the clan, but in the state ; and consequently, this "property is robbery." Those who hold this view scorn the talk about a man's producing this or producing that. They deny that any man, by himself alone, produces anything in a society; they deny that even this contribution to a joint product can be so identified, isolated, and detached as to enable him to say, "This is mine and I will take it away with me," or even that this contribution can be so identified and appraised that he can say, "This *part* of the total price of the joint product is mine, and I will put it in my purse." They declare that the individual is merely an organ in a complex body, whose share of the total vital function can never be isolated; and that it is for the state to award him that which shall be an equitable compensation for his efforts in contribution towards a result, no part of which is his own, singly, distinguishably, selfishly.

There can be no doubt that the idea of property is the result of social evolution, and that the principle of common ownership, particularly in the matter of the soil, has a wide historical basis. "In the development of the idea of property, especially as regards land," says Thomas Kirkup, in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* "three successive historical stages are broadly recognized,—common property and common enjoyment of it, common property and private enjoyment, private property and private enjoyment. The last form," he adds, "did not attain to full expression till the end of the eighteenth century."

"In all periods of history," he also says, "the state reserved to itself the right to interpose in the arrangements of property,—sometimes in favor of the poor, as in the case of the English poor law, which may thus be regarded as a socialistic measure. Moreover, all through history, revolts in favor of a rearrangement of property have been very frequent. And in

the societies of the Catholic Church we have a permanent example of common property and a common enjoyment of it." *

Now, it is evident that as between such views, I should have little time here to-day to state arguments or weigh evidence. But, indeed, that has not been at all my purpose. I have only endeavored to set out these various views of property, in their wide range from "the extreme Right" (to use the language of European politics) of the High Church Tory *sacro sanct* theory of a right in property more sacred than the right to liberty and life, through the centre of a utilitarian approval, to the "extreme Left" of the Communists and the Socialists. To change the image, I may say that I have thrown upon the screen the spectrum of property right from the violet to the red.

Now, let us see just what the utilitarian defenders of private property (and with them, equally, those who assert for private property a yet higher sanction than utility, finding that sanction in a divine ordinance, or in a constitution of things which is irrespective of time, place, and circumstances) agree to claim as the practical advantages to society of the system of private property.

Rudely grouped, these advantages may be stated as follows:

First and foremost, supreme, is a group of advantages bearing upon the production of wealth, arising from the superior activity, the sterner energy, the greater care in the use of tools, machinery, and plant, the saving of waste in materials and in products, which, it is credibly alleged, belong to work done for an immediate individual reward, as compared with that done by him who only finds his interest or feels his duty as a member of a large body.

Herein is found the main bulk of the economic advantages commonly attributed to the system of private property. To those who hold by this system, the industrial superiority arising from the sources indicated, is a superiority almost beyond measure; but as we shall touch upon this subject again, when we come to speak, in our next lecture, of individual initiative and enterprise in production, as contrasted

* *Encycl. Brit.*, xxii., 207.

with Socialism, it is not necessary to dwell longer at this point.

The second advantage of private property is that it sustains, fosters, and continuously develops, in mankind, that care for a distant future, that sense of responsibility for a provision for the young (beyond the mere period of nursing), which not only clearly, and by an almost infinite interval, distinguish our race from the brute, but which become the object of the noblest exertion and sacrifices, the spring of the most heroic motives and impulses of which men are capable; in which, indeed, may be said to lie the special cause of man's progressive advancement, in mind, in character, in powers, and in arts, from the lowest to the highest; which, in a word, hold the secret of civilization.*

The third advantage which we attribute to private property is that, through the foregoing sense of responsibility for provision for the young during a more or less distant future, it brings into operation the single force which has the virtue to check the wanton, senseless, brutal increase of population, amid squalor and hunger,—the sure result of which is the degradation of the species, and the speedy loss of the richest and ripest fruits of time and experience. I need not dwell on this theme; it speaks for itself. When one considers the possibilities of a rapid increase of population; when he contemplates the shortness of the term which would suffice to bring about the result that mankind would have to live like rabbits or like swine; when he asks, granting the abolition of private property (in these piping days of peace, when war and internecine strife no longer keep the population down), what would take the place of the sense of responsibility for the future of the child, in checking population, he will seek no further for a justification of the system of private property.

Yet, as I have twice before said, to defend the system of private property, as essential to the maintenance of civilization—one might almost say to the very existence of a race as numerous as ours—is not to justify the present distribution of

* This is the argument for private property which is chiefly dwelt upon in the late Encyclical of the Pope, on the "Condition of Labor."

wealth. That might need reforming very much, by general admission, yet no disparagement of private property be carried thereby. On the various projects for altering the distribution of wealth, not by spoliation and confiscation, but by means peaceful in themselves and consistent with the general system of property right, which have been proposed by a hundred eager reformers, I need not speak.

Let me say three things without any pretension to cover the whole ground of the subject, which is too vast for a single lecture, or even a single volume.

First. I am convinced that the increasing self-assertion, by peaceful measures, of the working class, rendered continually stronger by general and industrial education, by union among themselves, and by the mighty virtue there is in a birth-rate strictly under control, is destined to bring about a continually more favorable distribution of wealth, in spite of seeming tendencies towards a numerous and intolerable accumulation of wealth in single hands.

Second. Regarding those extraordinary accumulations of property, which are so marked a feature of recent years, I feel a strong conviction that they will, at no distant period, become the subject of serious consideration by even the most conservative members of the community, who will be fully prepared to act in the direction of limiting the private accumulation of wealth, in single hands, if it shall appear to be for the best interests of the community, without regard to the *sacrosanct* view of the right of property. I do not deny that, on the fullest consideration of the subject, it will finally appear that such a limitation would be best for society, on the whole and in the long run ; but I am prepared to see economists and publicists generally take up the question with the utmost freedom from constraint on account of any supposed divine sacredness of property, and with a perfect readiness to propose, and, so far as lies in them, to carry out, any measure which shall seem to be, in the large view, for the general good.

Third. Another question which I believe we are soon to see discussed, not in the spirit of spoliation, confiscation, and robbery, but calmly, though fearlessly, in the public interest

solely, and by truly conservative men, without prejudice for any supposed "rights" of property, is the question of the expediency of limiting the descent of wealth, by inheritance or bequest.

So much for Private Property as opposed to Communism. Now what shall we say of Private Property as opposed to Collectivism ?

Collectivism is the term applied to the social and industrial scheme by which, while wealth devoted to personal consumption shall remain private property, all the instruments and agencies of production shall become public. Now, the object of collectivism is to admit of the socialistic conduct of industry. Hence, in a word, we may say, here, that our project of Collectivism, as a scheme for the ownership of property, shall properly be made to depend upon our judgment of Socialism as a means of carrying on the industries of the community. Whatever the *sacrosanct* defender of private property might say of it, the utilitarian is bound to confess that if the socialistic scheme of production *should* be proved to be of transcendent importance, the collective ownership of the instruments of production, as a means thereto, would be fully justified.

But, meanwhile, two things may be said, in passing :

First. Socialism, which sets out with such tremendous pretentions to securing human justice, has, according to the Collectivist theory, to commit an act of the purest injustice, at the very start. No reason, even one momentarily plausible, can be given for admitting the right to hold one portion of wealth, product of labor, as private property, because it is not to be used productively, and denying the right to hold another portion of wealth (equally the product of labor) as private property, because it is to be used productively.

Second. In addition to the great difficulties of classification which the Collectivist system would introduce, *i.e.*, as between the carriages used for personal pleasure and those used for the transportation of passengers, and so of a thousand things, it would also, from first to last, encounter difficulties far greater because of the resistance that would be made to the assumption of any definite item of wealth as

needed for the due increase or the proper keeping-up, repair, and sustentation of the agencies and instruments of production. If you will say that no one shall own anything, you have a clear case. Communism, pure and simple, is easy enough. But if you say that individuals may own a part of the wealth of the community, while the state owns the other, you at once create a conflict of interests as to the degree in which the total wealth shall be so divided. With private property and under individual initiative, whatever goes to the keeping-up or the increase of the individual plant, is so devoted (at the expense of personal consumption) in the hope and expectation of a personal gain. There is, hence, no reluctance to strengthen capital at the expense of wealth given over to immediate enjoyment. Under Collectivism there cannot fail to be a decided reluctance, a strong resistance, to the proper increase and repair of capital.

Now, those who have written in favor of Collectivism have generally (being often men of the closet and the chair, merely) written as if the agencies and instruments of production—the plant and active capital of the community—were a definite and measurably constant thing. But those who know much about industry are aware that the agencies and instruments of production are in an increasing process of waste and repair. It used to be said that the substance of a man's body changed totally, once in seven years. We now know that it is a matter of months, and even only of weeks. So with the plant and active capital of a community. It is only by the prompt, unstinting application of portions of the product, applied just at the right time, just in the right way, that the industrial machinery is kept from going rapidly to pieces. This is irrespective of the need for occasional large expenditures for the increase of plant and working capital, to meet new wants, or to take advantage of fresh opportunities.

It would seem, therefore, that, admitting the advantage of the Socialist conduct of industry, the Collectivist system of property would reasonably be subject to grave difficulties in both theory and practice—in both equity and expediency.

IMMIGRATION AND DEGRADATION

The Forum, VOL. 11 (1891), PP. 634-43

In his presidential address before the American Economic Association, December 26, 1890, entitled "The Tide of Economic Thought," Mr. Walker dwelt with renewed earnestness upon the problem of immigration. During the immediately succeeding years he spoke and wrote much upon this subject, and consequently there is frequent repetition. In addition to the following article, which is devoted to a study of the foreign elements from the standpoint of statistical analysis, two others have been selected. These are "Immigration," in the *Yale Review*, 1892, and "Restriction of Immigration," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1896. The first of these treats of the practical methods of restriction, and the second is a more popular article, covering the whole subject.

IMMIGRATION AND DEGRADATION.

To me, as a student of the American census, the statistics of the foreign elements of our population have had a peculiar interest. To note the first appearance, in the web of our national life, of these many-colored threads; to watch the patterns which they formed as they grew in numbers during the successive stages of our development, was always a fascinating study. But, curious and even instructive as are inquiries into the varying aptitudes, as to residence and occupation, manifested by the several foreign nationalities represented among us, or into their varying liabilities to different forms of disease, of physical infirmity, or of criminal impulse, I shall confine myself in this paper to speaking of the influence exerted by our foreign arrivals upon the native population in the past, and to considerations arising upon the contemplation of the overwhelming immigration of the present time.

False and absurd as are many of the views prevalent in the Old World regarding things American, there is no other particular in which European opinion has been so grotesquely in the wrong, as in respect to the indebtedness of the population of the United States to continuous immigration from abroad. Conclusions have been announced and unhesitatingly accepted in Europe, and, indeed, copied and repeated long without contradiction here, which are of the most astonishing character, in the highest degree derogatory to the vitality of our native American stock, and to the sanitary influences of our climate. Thus, Mr. Clibborne, in a paper entitled "The Tendency of the European Races to Become Extinct in the United States," read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1856, stated the following stupendous result of his investigation:

"From the general unfitness of the climate to the European constitution, coupled with occasional pestilential visitations which occur in the healthier localities, on the whole in an average of three or four generations, extinction of the European races in North America would be almost certain, if the communication with Europe were entirely cut off."

In speaking of entirely cutting off communication with Europe, Mr. Clibborne did not, could not, mean such a painful severance of relations as would deny the American people the privilege of studying their own character and manners in the discriminating, dispassionate, yet genial narratives and essays of a Mrs. Trollope or a Lepel Griffin ; but only such restriction of intercourse as would put a stop to Europeans coming hither, as seals resort to the Alaskan islands, to deposit their young, the proper fruit of more benignant climes. Were this constantly renewed supply of fresh blood from other lands cut off, Mr. Clibborne declared, the white race on this continent would soon become extinct.

With the readiness so characteristic of Europeans to swallow any opinion or statement of fact regarding Americans, provided only it be sufficiently disparaging, it is not to be wondered at that an Englishman should have been found to announce such a result ; and that millions of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans should have been found to believe and to repeat it; but unfortunately, similar conclusions were at about the same time promulgated by two persons resident in the United States, assuming the air, at least, of careful sociological investigators. In the same year that Mr. Clibborne's paper was read, Mr. Louis Schade, of Washington, put forward some elaborate statistical computations to establish the proposition that the rate of natural increase in the descendants of the original population of the United States, in 1790, had, by that time, been reduced to 1.38 per cent per annum. Vastly the greater part of the mighty increase which had raised the four millions of 1790 to the twenty-eight millions of 1856, Mr. Schade attributed to the fecundity of the immigrants into the country subsequent to 1790. I trust that it is not below the dignity of this magazine to allow me to say that Mr. Schade's elaborate demonstration of the decay

of reproductive vigor among the elder population of the United States was simply bosh. Blunder had been piled upon blunder, to reach this Olympian height of absurdity. Yet so lacking was this country in trained statisticians competent to deal with such a piece of charlatanry, that Mr. Schade's conclusions remained unchallenged at home, and were widely circulated abroad, to the confusion of all good Americans.

In 1870, Mr. Frederic Kapp, a scholar and a man of some pretensions to statesmanship, read a paper before the American Social Science Association, in which he warmly supported Mr. Schade's views, giving that person much credit for his original and penetrating methods of statistical analysis. Original they certainly were. Mr. Kapp proceeded, by methods entitled to equal praise on the same account, to complete the work in this field, reaching the conclusion that, of the population of 1850, but 36 per cent, and of the population of 1860, but 29 per cent, were American, in the sense of being derived from the inhabitants of 1790, all the vast remainder consisting of the survivors or the descendants of immigrants since that date.

By this time it was not so easy or safe an exploit to pluck the feathers of the American eagle. Statistics had begun to be cultivated in a small way here ; and Kapp's performance called forth a reply from the late Dr. Edward Jarvis, the first president of the American Statistical Association. Dr. Jarvis' paper will be found in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1872. In it he completely demolished the flimsy structures which Schade and Kapp had reared. Time will not serve to follow Dr. Jarvis' exposure of the successive statistical blunders which had allowed conclusions so disparaging to the vitality of our people. Two instances will suffice. Mr. Schade had confounded the number of children surviving at the end of a year with the number of children born during the year ; the fact being that from 109 to 115 or more children (according to the conditions of infant life prevailing in the community) must be born during a year, in order that 100 shall survive at the end of it. Mr. Kapp, on his part, had to his own satisfaction established a natural increase of the foreigners supposed, in the absence of exact data, to have arrived in the

country between 1790 and 1800, which would have required every female among them to bear 18.07 children each year, to satisfy the requirements of the assumption. Dr. Jarvis reached the conclusion that of the population of 1850, more than 80 per cent, and of the population of 1860, more than 71 per cent, were American in the sense given to that word by Mr. Kapp, instead of only 36 and 29 per cent, respectively, according to the deductions of that writer.

Now, it is to be freely admitted that between 1850 and 1870 the rate of increase in the pre-existing population of this country fell sharply off; and that between 1870 and 1890 that decline has gone on at an accelerated ratio. From the first appearance of foreigners in large numbers in the United States the rate of increase among them has been greater than among those whom they found here; and this disproportion has tended continually, ever since, to increase. But has this result been due to a decline in physical vitality and reproductive vigor in that part of the population which we call, by comparison, American, or has it been due to other causes, *perhaps to the appearance of the foreigners themselves?* This is a question which requires us to go back to the beginning of the nation. The population of 1790 may be considered to have been, in a high sense, American. It is true that (leaving the Africans out of account) it was all of European stock; but immigration had practically ceased on the outbreak of the Revolution, in 1775, and had not been renewed, to any important extent, at the occurrence of the first census; so that the population of that date was an acclimated, and almost wholly a native, population. Now, from 1790 to 1800, the population of the United States increased 35.10 per cent, or at a rate which would have enabled population to be doubled in twenty-three years; a rate transcending that maintained, so far as is known, over any extensive region for any considerable period of human history. And during this time the foreign arrivals were insignificant, being estimated at only 50,000 for the decade. Again, from 1800 to 1810, population increased by 36.38 per cent. Still the foreign arrivals were few, being estimated at only 70,000 for the ten years. Again, between 1810 and 1820 the rate of increase was 33.07 per

cent, and still immigration remained at a minimum, the arrivals during the decade being estimated at 114,000. Meanwhile the population had increased from 3,929,214 to 9,633,822.

I have thus far spoken of the foreign arrivals at our ports, as estimated. Beginning with 1820, however, we have custom-house statistics of the numbers of persons annually landing upon our shores. Some of these, indeed, did not remain here ; yet, rudely speaking, we may call them all immigrants. Between 1820 and 1830, population grew to 12,866,020. The number of foreigners arriving in the ten years was 151,000. Here, then, we have for forty years an increase, substantially all out of the loins of the four millions of our own people living in 1790, amounting to almost nine millions, or 227 per cent. Such a rate of increase was never known before or since, among any considerable population, over any extensive region.

About this time, however, we reach a turning-point in the history of our population. In the decade 1830–40 the number of foreign arrivals greatly increased. Immigration had not, indeed, reached the enormous dimensions of these later days. Yet, during the decade in question, the foreigners coming to the United States were almost exactly fourfold those coming in the decade preceding, or 599,000. The question now of vital importance is this : Was the population of the country correspondingly increased ? I answer, No ! The population of 1840 was almost exactly what, by computation, it would have been had no increase in foreign arrivals taken place. Again, between 1840 and 1850, a still further access of foreigners occurred, this time of enormous dimensions, the arrivals of the decade amounting to not less than 1,713,000. Of this gigantic total, 1,048,000 were from the British Isles, the Irish famine of 1846–47 having driven hundreds of thousands of miserable peasants to seek food upon our shores. Again we ask, Did this excess constitute a net gain to the population of the country ? Again the answer is, No ! Population showed no increase over the proportions established before immigration set in like a flood. In other words,

as the foreigners began to come in larger numbers, the native population more and more withheld their own increase.

Now, this correspondence might be accounted for in three different ways: (1) It might be said that it was a mere coincidence, no relation of cause and effect existing between the two phenomena. (2) It might be said that the foreigners came because the native population was relatively declining, that is, failing to keep up its pristine rate of increase. (3) It might be said that the growth of the native population was checked by the incoming of the foreign elements in such large numbers.

The view that the correspondence referred to was a mere coincidence, purely accidental in origin, is perhaps that most commonly taken. If this be the true explanation, the coincidence is a most remarkable one. In the June number * of this magazine, I cited the predictions as to the future population of the country, made by Elkanah Watson, on the basis of the censuses of 1790, 1800, and 1810, while immigration still remained at a minimum. Now let us place together the actual census figures for 1840 and 1850, Watson's estimates for those years, and the foreign arrivals during the preceding decade:

	1840.	1850.
The census	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's estimates	17,116,526	23,185,368
The difference	− 47,073	+ 6,508
Foreign arrivals during preceding decade	599,000	1,713,000

Here we see that, in spite of the arrival of 599,000 foreigners during the period 1830–40, four times as many as had arrived during any preceding decade, the figures of the census coincided closely with the estimate of Watson, based on the growth of population in the pre-immigration era, falling short of it by only 47,073 in a total of 17,000,000; while in 1850 the actual population, in spite of the arrival of 1,713,000 more immigrants, exceeded Watson's estimates by only 6,508 in a total of 23,000,000. Surely, if this correspondence between the increase of the foreign element and the relative decline of the native element is a mere coinci-

* See Vol. II, p. 121.

dence, it is one of the most astonishing in human history. The actuarial degree of improbability as to a coincidence so close, over a range so vast, I will not undertake to compute.

If, on the other hand, it be alleged that the relation of cause and effect existed between the two phenomena, this might be put in two widely different ways: either that the foreigners came in increasing numbers because the native element was relatively declining, or that the native element failed to maintain its previous rate of increase because the foreigners came in such swarms. What shall we say of the former of these explanations? Does anything more need to be said than that it is too fine to be the real explanation of a big human fact like this we are considering? To assume that at such a distance in space, in the then state of news-communication and ocean-transportation, and in spite of the ignorance and extreme poverty of the peasantries of Europe from which the immigrants were then generally drawn, there was so exact a degree of knowledge, not only of the fact that the native element here was not keeping up its rate of increase, but also of the precise ratio of that decline, as to enable those peasantries, with or without a mutual understanding, to supply just the numbers necessary to bring our population up to its due proportions, would be little less than laughable. To-day, with quick passages, cheap freights, and ocean cables, there is not a single wholesale trade in the world carried on with this degree of knowledge, or attaining anything like this point of precision in results.

The true explanation of the remarkable fact we are considering, I believe to be the last of the three suggested. The access of foreigners, at the time and under the circumstances, constituted a shock to the principle of population among the native element. That principle is always acutely sensitive, alike to sentimental and to economic conditions. And it is to be noted, in passing, that not only did the decline in the native element, as a whole, take place in singular correspondence with the excess of foreign arrivals, but it occurred chiefly in just those regions to which the newcomers most freely resorted.

But what possible reason can be suggested why the in-

coming of the foreigner should have checked the disposition of the native toward the increase of population at the traditional rate? I answer that the best of good reasons can be assigned. Throughout the northeastern and northern middle States, into which, during the period under consideration, the newcomers poured in such numbers, the standard of material living, of general intelligence, of social decency, had been singularly high. Life, even at its hardest, had always had its luxuries; the babe had been a thing of beauty, to be delicately nurtured and proudly exhibited; the growing child had been decently dressed, at least for school and church; the house had been kept in order, at whatever cost, the gate hung, the shutters in place, while the front yard had been made to bloom with simple flowers; the village church, the public schoolhouse, had been the best which the community, with great exertions and sacrifices, could erect and maintain. Then came the foreigner, making his way into the little village, bringing—small blame to him!—not only a vastly lower standard of living, but too often an actual present incapacity even to understand the refinements of life and thought in the community in which he sought a home. Our people had to look upon houses that were mere shells for human habitations, the gate unhung, the shutters flapping or falling, green pools in the yard, babes and young children rolling about half naked or worse, neglected, dirty, unkempt. Was there not in this a sentimental reason strong enough to give a shock to the principle of population? But there was, besides, an economic reason for a check to the native increase. The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day-labor with these new elements of the population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. For the first time in our history, the people of the free States became divided into classes. Those classes were natives and foreigners. Politically, the distinction had only a certain force, which yielded more or less readily under partisan pressure; but socially and industrially that distinction has been a tremendous power, and its chief effects have

been wrought upon population. Neither the social companionship nor the industrial competition of the foreigner has, broadly speaking, been welcome to the native.

It hardly needs to be said that the foregoing descriptions are not intended to apply to all of the vast body of immigrants during this period. Thousands came over from good homes; many had had all the advantages of education and culture; some possessed the highest qualities of manhood and citizenship.

But let us proceed with the census. By 1860 the causes operating to reduce the growth of the native element,—to which had then manifestly been added the force of important changes in the manner of living, the introduction of more luxurious habits, the influence of city life, and the custom of "boarding,"—had reached such a height as, in spite of a still-increasing immigration, to leave the population of the country 310,503 below the estimate. The fearful losses of the civil war and the rapid extension of habits unfavorable to increase of numbers, make any further use of Watson's computations uninstructive; yet still the great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population, that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States, the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population separately, but throughout the population of the country, as a whole, including the foreigners. The climax of this movement was reached when, during the decade 1880–90, the foreign arrivals rose to the monstrous total of five and a quarter millions (twice what had ever before been known), while the population, even including this enormous re-enforcement, increased more slowly than in any other period of our history, except, possibly, that of the great civil war.

If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it first assumed large proportions, amounted, not to a re-enforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock. That if the foreigners had not come, the native element would long have filled the places the foreigners usurped, I entertain not a doubt. The

competency of the American stock to do this it would be absurd to question, in the face of such a record as that for 1790 to 1830. During the period from 1830 to 1860 the material conditions of existence in this country were continually becoming more and more favorable to the increase of population from domestic sources. The old man-slaughtering medicine was being driven out of civilized communities; houses were becoming larger; the food and clothing of the people were becoming ampler and better. Nor was the cause which, about 1840 or 1850, began to retard the growth of population here, to be found in the climate which Mr. Clibborne stigmatizes so severely. The climate of the United States has been benign enough to enable us to take the English short-horn and greatly to improve it, as the re-exportation of that animal to England at monstrous prices abundantly proves; to take the English race-horse and to improve him to a degree of which the startling victories of Parole, Iroquois, and Foxhall afford but a suggestion; to take the English man and to improve him too, adding agility to his strength, making his eye keener and his hand steadier, so that in rowing, in riding, in shooting, and in boxing, the American of pure English stock is to-day the better animal. No! Whatever were the causes which checked the growth of the native population, they were neither physiological nor climatic. They were mainly social and economic; and chief among them was the access of vast hordes of foreign immigrants, bringing with them a standard of living at which our own people revolted.*

* The last two pages are omitted.—*Editor.*

METHODS OF RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION.

It may be asked, What needs to be done? What could be done? What probably will be done, in view of the situation existing? The answer to the first two questions is one and the same. Whatever needs to be done in the situation can easily be done. It is only necessary that the people of the United States should make up their minds what is for their good and what they are prepared to do; and neither legislative nor administrative difficulties, worth considering, will be found to beset the way to it. As to what will probably be done, I entertain no great expectations. No matter how thoroughly all statesmen and men of affairs, all students of politics and men of culture throughout the land, might be convinced of the pernicious effects of future unrestrained immigration (and there is no reason to believe that such a conviction has yet become general), nothing will be done, of a nature to reach the bottom of the subject, until the mass of the people take it up, as one of life and death to them. So long as the working classes are content that our ports shall remain open to the men of other climes and races who are moved to resort hither, to share our future and partake of our abundance, nothing will be done beyond some slight measures dealing with the plain, palpable abuses of immigration, such as the deportation to our shores of idiots, paupers, and criminals. It does not matter in the least what the favored classes of the country think about immigration; the doors of this land will never be closed except upon the initiative and the imperative of the laboring classes, looking to their own interests, and to the heritage of their children. When the laboring classes come to take that view of the situation—if they ever do—it will require but a few hours to shape the

bill which will accomplish the object, and but a few days to pass it through the Houses of Congress. Indeed, both parties will fairly tumble over themselves and each other, in their haste to register and execute the popular will.

In such a situation, it would be idle to discuss specific measures; yet, merely as the best means of conveying my own thought on the subject, I will state just the kind of law which, did the matter rest with me alone, I would enact. The United States should make proclamation to all the world that, having given a shelter and a home during the past ten years to five and a quarter millions of strangers from other lands, they deem it only fair and right, and not at all inconsistent with a general purpose of hospitality and fraternity, that they should, for the ten years next ensuing, give themselves a rest; that, in pursuance of this object, a deposit of one hundred dollars will be required from every alien entering our ports after the 1st of January, 1893; that, in case any person making such deposit shall depart out of the country within three years after the time of such payment, the amount shall be refunded to him; that, at the expiration of such term of three years, the amount of the deposit shall be repaid to every such person then remaining in the country, upon the presentation of satisfactory evidence that he is at the time a law-abiding and self-supporting citizen; that no power-of-attorney given, or assignment made, prior to the day when such repayment by law becomes due, shall have any effect to authorize and enable any other person than the immigrant himself to receive such refund, or any part of it; and that no part thereof shall be subject to attachment to satisfy any debt contracted prior to such date. The law should expire, by limitation, January 1st, 1903.

That is the way in which one American citizen would deal with the question. Such a measure would at once cut off nine tenths of the immigration which would otherwise take place during the next ten years. It would not prevent tens of thousands of thrifty Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and men of other nationalities coming hither at their own charges, since great numbers of these people now bring more than that amount of money with them. It would not pre-

vent tens of thousands sending back to the "old country" for relatives left behind, since the average savings of our working people reach several times the amount of the proposed deposit. But such a law would put a stop to the system, now in full blast, of the wholesale manufacture of European emigration. Never was any matter more completely the subject of commercial exploitation. The steamship and railway companies have their agents all over Europe, working this thing up deliberately and systematically; putting emigration into the minds of the peasantry, and playing upon their feelings of discontent until the object is gained. A rural notary or a railway station agent, in Hungary or in Italy, who can induce one family of five persons to emigrate, receives, as his commission on the tickets he sells them, what is more than a month's income for a person of his class.

Even though the deposit were not to be in time returned, the sum of one hundred dollars would constitute a very inadequate compensation for the privileges and advantages into which the immigrant enters, or even for the actual plant and equipment to which he receives a virtual title by the mere fact of coming hither. Every immigrant to the United States at once comes into the enjoyment of hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars' worth of material improvements, made by no exertion or sacrifice on his part.* Call it "the admission fee to the club," if you please; how moderate is the sum exacted! How little he pays for the much he gets! If he be industrious and frugal and reasonably fortunate, he will be better off at the end of the first year, than if he had stayed at home. Yet, were it for no other reason than to show that the United States desire no revenue from such a source, but only mean to protect their citizenship, sustain their standard of living, and save American wages from an unworthy and degrading competition, I would, as stated, have

* In reply to this suggestion, it has been remarked that every child born in the United States comes into possession of large industrial advantages not of his own making. To this I answer: True; but the idea of the child inheriting from the parent is too familiar in our social system to create the sense of wrong. The right of other people's children to inherit, as of course, without leave, is what is questioned in the text.

the treasury return the amount of the deposit at the end of a moderate term of years.

Of course, such a proposition at once encounters the objection that it is a test of character or intelligence which we want, not a test of pecuniary ability. This objection sounds well; and to those who are transcendentalists or idealists in politics, it will be fatal to the scheme suggested. But the sensible, practical man of affairs will simply ask, What are likely to be the results under this test, as compared to those which would be reached under any other which is practicable? It may be admitted that, under a money test, it might happen that a highly virtuous and highly intelligent foreigner would be kept out. Some wonderful peasant, of marvellous virtues and abilities, the mind of a Newton, the soul of a Sidney, might conceivably reach our shores and be denied admission because he could not lay down one hundred dollars on the steps of the custom-house. But, as a matter of fact, the United States are now great enough and rich enough to forego all the honor and profit to be derived from the immigration to their shores of any man in the world who would be kept out by the requirement of a hundred dollars' deposit. Most of those who possess such virtues and abilities as would make their loss in any degree a misfortune, will have the one hundred dollars to pay. Those who have not, may stay at home and continue to bless their native land by the exercise of their powers and graces of mind and heart, as perhaps it would in any case be their duty to do. Our loss will then be another's gain. We ought not to grudge it.

A money test, like that proposed, would at once reduce immigration to small dimensions; an object, if the views presented in this paper are correct, of incalculable importance. It would also raise the average quality, socially and industrially, of the immigrants actually entering the country. It would do ninety-nine hundredths of all we want done. It would do this with the minimum of cost and of attendant evils. It would do this easily, quickly, surely. What more can a practical man ask in respect to a measure of state policy?

As to an education test, three things may be said:

First, it would probably let in a much larger proportion of actually dangerous and vicious immigrants than a property test. The anarchist, the criminal, the habitual drunkard would be far more likely to pass the ordeal of a reading and writing test than the pocket-book test. Who can doubt this ?

Secondly, an education test is one which it is far more difficult to enforce, far more easy to evade, than a money test. Any one who knows how the reading and writing requirement, as a condition precedent of suffrage, has been trifled with in the States which have such a constitutional provision, will readily agree that an education test at our custom-houses would be little better than a howling farce. When, many years ago, I was made a voter in a certain State, I found in front of me, at the clerk of court's desk, a young Irishman, to whom had been handed an open book containing the Constitution of the State and of the nation. The new applicant for citizenship looked doubtfully at the page, and then, bracing himself up, said slowly, "The—" "That will do," said the clerk, who thereupon slapped the two halves of the book together and administered the oath. I much fear that an examination into an immigrant's intellectual acquirements, conducted at the immigration bureau by a detail from the New York Custom-house, would be of an even less searching character.

Thirdly, but when it is considered that the immigrants into the United States speak fifty languages and many hundreds of dialects, it is at once seen to be impossible to hold examinations, on the large scale, to test intelligence or educational acquirements. In order that the examinations should be at once just to the government and just to the applicant, it would be necessary that the collector of customs at any port should be ready to conduct them in the *patois* of the remotest and most secluded village of Bohemia, of Normandy, or of the Austrian Tyrol.

All we can ask of any law is that it shall do a great deal of good in the shortest, easiest, and most effective way, with very little of injury or injustice directly or remotely resulting. This the money-test proposed would accomplish. It is doubtful whether any other test would do a half or a tithe

as much of what is desired. As to a direct character-test, it can only be applied to intending immigrants at the gates of heaven.

That any government has a complete right thus to deal with the question of its own citizenship and with the privilege of alien residence, is beyond dispute. For one, I was strongly opposed, at the time, to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Bill of 1882 ; but long since I came heartily to rejoice in it, first, because it was a striking proclamation of the right and the duty of the nation to defend itself against what was believed to be a corrupting and degrading immigration, from whatever quarter ; and, secondly, because that measure irrevocably committed to the principle of exclusion for good reason the entire Democratic party ;—the party whose membership had been largely constituted of immigrants, the party which had always supported quick and easy naturalization, the party without whose consent a law restricting immigration might possibly be passed, but without whose support such a law could not possibly be maintained on the statute-book long enough to be of any use.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

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RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

When we speak of the restriction of immigration, at the present time, we have not in mind measures undertaken for the purpose of straining out, from the vast throngs of foreigners arriving at our ports, a few hundreds, or possibly thousands of persons, deaf, dumb, blind, idiotic, insane, pauper, or criminal who might otherwise become a hopeless burden upon the country, perhaps even an active source of mischief. The propriety, and even the necessity, of adopting such measures is now conceded by men of all shades of opinion concerning the larger subject. There is even noticeable a rather severe public feeling regarding the admission of persons of any of the classes named above; perhaps one might say, a certain resentment at the attempt of such persons to impose themselves upon us. We already have laws which cover a considerable part of this ground; and so far as further legislation is needed, it will only be necessary for the proper executive department of the government to call the attention of Congress to the subject. There is a serious effort on the part of our immigration officers to enforce the regulations prescribed, though when it is said that more than five thousand persons have passed through the gates at Ellis Island, in New York harbor, during the course of a single day, it will be seen that no very careful scrutiny is practicable.

It is true that in the past there has been gross and scandalous neglect of this matter on the part both of government and people, here in the United States. For nearly two generations, great numbers of persons utterly unable to earn their living, by reason of one or another form of physical or mental disability, and others who were, from widely different causes, unfit to be members of any decent community, were admitted to our ports without challenge or question. It is a matter

of official record that in many cases these persons had been directly shipped to us by states or municipalities desiring to rid themselves of a burden and a nuisance; while it could reasonably be believed that the proportion of such instances was far greater than could be officially ascertained. But all this is of the past. The question of the restriction of immigration to-day does not deal with that phase of the subject. What is proposed is, not to keep out some hundreds, or possibly thousands, of persons, against whom lie specific objections like those above indicated, but to exclude perhaps hundreds of thousands, the great majority of whom would be subject to no individual objections; who, on the contrary, might fairly be expected to earn their living here in this new country, at least up to the standard known to them at home, and probably much more. The question to-day is, not of preventing the wards of our almshouses, our insane asylums, and our jails from being stuffed to repletion by new arrivals from Europe; but of protecting the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, and the quality of American citizenship from degradation through the tumultuous access of vast throngs of ignorant and brutalized peasantry from the countries of eastern and southern Europe.

The first thing to be said respecting any serious proposition importantly to restrict immigration into the United States is, that such a proposition necessarily and properly encounters a high degree of incredulity, arising from the traditions of our country. From the beginning, it has been the policy of the United States, both officially and according to the prevailing sentiment of our people, to tolerate, to welcome, and to encourage immigration, without qualification, and without discrimination. For generations it was the settled opinion of our people, which found no challenge anywhere, that immigration was a source of both strength and wealth. Not only was it thought unnecessary carefully to scrutinize foreign arrivals at our ports, but the figures of any exceptionally large immigration were greeted with noisy gratulation.* In those days the American people did not doubt that they derived a great advantage from this source.

* See Note 1, page 450.

It is, therefore, natural to ask, Is it possible that our fathers and our grandfathers were so far wrong in this matter? Is it not, the rather, probable that the present anxiety and apprehension on the subject are due to transient causes or to distinctly false opinions, prejudicing the public mind? The challenge which current proposals for the restriction of immigration thus encounter is a perfectly legitimate one, and creates a presumption which their advocates are bound to deal with. Is it, however, necessarily true that if our fathers and grandfathers were right in their view of immigration in their own time, those who advocate the restriction of immigration to-day must be in the wrong? Does it not sometimes happen, in the course of national development, that great and permanent changes in condition require corresponding changes of opinion and of policy?

We shall best answer this question by referring to an instance in an altogether different department of public interest and activity. For nearly a hundred years after the peace of 1783 opened to settlement the lands beyond the Alleghanies, the cutting away of the primeval forest was regarded by our people not only with toleration, but with the highest approval. No physical instrument could have been chosen which was so fairly entitled to be called the emblem of American civilization as the Axe of the Pioneer. As the forests of the Ohio valley bowed themselves before the unstaying enterprise of the adventurous settlers of that region, all good citizens rejoiced. There are few chapters of human history which recount a grander story of human achievement. Yet to-day all intelligent men admit that the cutting down of our forests, the destruction of the tree-covering of our soil, has already gone too far; and both individual States and the nation have united in efforts to undo some of the mischief which has been wrought to our agriculture and to our climate from carrying too far the work of denudation. In precisely the same way, it may be true that our fathers were right in their view of immigration; while yet the patriotic American of to-day may properly shrink in terror from the contemplation of the vast hordes of ignorant and brutalized peasantry thronging to our shores.

Before inquiring as to general changes in our national condition which may justify a change of opinion and policy in this respect, let us deal briefly, as we must, with two opinions regarding the immigration of the past, which stand in the way of any fair consideration of the subject. These two opinions were, first, that immigration constituted a net re-enforcement of our population; secondly, that, in addition to this, or irrespective of this, immigration was necessary, in order to supply the laborers who should do certain kinds of work, imperatively demanded for the building up of our industrial and social structure, which natives of the soil were unwilling to undertake.

The former of these opinions was, so far as I am aware, held with absolute unanimity by our people; yet no popular belief was ever more unfounded. Space would not serve for the full statistical demonstration of the proposition that immigration, during the period from 1830 to 1860, instead of constituting a net re-enforcement to the population, simply resulted in a replacement of native by foreign elements; but I believe it would be practicable to prove this to the satisfaction of every fair-minded man. Let it suffice to state a few matters which are beyond controversy.

The population of 1790 was almost wholly a native and wholly an acclimated population, and for forty years afterwards immigration remained at so low a rate as to be practically of no account; yet the people of the United States increased in numbers more rapidly than has ever elsewhere been known, in regard to any considerable population, over any considerable area, through any considerable period of time. Between 1790 and 1830 the nation grew from less than 4,000,000 to nearly 13,000,000,—an increase, in fact, of 227 per cent, a rate unparalleled in history. That increase was wholly out of the loins of our own people. Each decade had seen a growth of between 33 and 38 per cent, a doubling once in twenty-two or twenty-three years. During the thirty years which followed 1830, the conditions of life and reproduction in the United States were not less, but more, favorable than in the preceding period. Important changes relating to the practice of medicine, the food and clothing of

people, the general habits of living, took place, which were of a nature to increase the vitality and reproductive capability of the American people. Throughout this period, the standard of height, of weight, and of chest measurement was steadily rising, with the result that, of the men of all nationalities in the giant army formed to suppress the slaveholders' rebellion, the native American bore off the palm in respect to physical stature. The decline of this rate of increase among Americans began at the very time when foreign immigration first assumed considerable proportions; it showed itself first and in the highest degree in those regions, in those States, and in the very counties into which the foreigners most largely entered. It proceeded for a long time in such a way as absolutely to offset the foreign arrivals, so that in 1850, in spite of the incoming of two and a half millions of foreigners during thirty years, our population differed by less than ten thousand from the population which would have existed, according to the previous rate of increase, without re-enforcement from abroad. These three facts, which might be shown by tables and diagrams, constitute a statistical demonstration such as is rarely attained in regard to the operation of any social or economic force.

But it may be asked, Is the proposition that the arrival of foreigners brought a check to the native increase a reasonable one? Is the cause thus suggested one which has elsewhere appeared as competent to produce such an effect? I answer, Yes. All human history shows that the principle of population is intensely sensitive to social and economic changes. Let social and economic conditions remain as they were, and population will go on increasing from year to year, and from decade to decade, with a regularity little short of the marvellous. Let social and economic conditions change, and population instantly responds. The arrival in the United States, between 1830 and 1840, and thereafter increasingly, of large numbers of degraded peasantry, created for the first time in this country distinct social classes, and produced an alteration of economic relations which could not fail powerfully to affect population. The appearance of vast numbers of men, foreign in birth and often in language, with a poorer standard

of living, with habits repellent to our native people, of an industrial grade suited only to the lowest kind of manual labor, was exactly such a cause as by any student of population would be expected to affect profoundly the growth of the native population. Americans shrank alike from the social contact and the economic competition thus created. They became increasingly unwilling to bring forth sons and daughters who should be obliged to compete in the market for labor and in the walks of life with those whom they did not recognize as of their own grade and condition. It has been said by some that during this time habits of luxury were entering, to reduce both the disposition and the ability to increase among our own population. In some small degree, in some restricted localities, this undoubtedly was the case; but prior to 1860 there was no such general growth of luxury in the United States as is competent to account for the effect seen. Indeed, I believe this was almost wholly due to the cause which has been indicated,—a cause recognized by every student of statistics and economics.

The second opinion regarding the immigration of the past, with which it seems well to deal before proceeding to the positive argument of the case, is that, whether desirable on other accounts or not, foreign immigration prior to 1860 was necessary in order to supply the country with a laboring class which should be able and willing to perform the lowest kind of work required in the upbuilding of our industrial and social structure, especially the making of railroads and canals. The opinion which has been cited constitutes, perhaps, the best example known to me of that putting the cart before the horse which is so commonly seen in sociological inquiry. When was it that native Americans first refused to do the lowest kinds of manual labor? I answer, When the foreigner came. Did the foreigner come because the native American refused longer to perform any kind of manual labor? No; the American refused because the foreigner came. Through all our early history, Americans, from Governor Winthrop, through Jonathan Edwards, to Ralph Waldo Emerson, had done every sort of work which was required for the comfort of their families and for the upbuilding of the state, and had

not been ashamed. They called nothing common or unclean, which needed to be done for their own good or for the good of all. But when the country was flooded with ignorant and unskilled foreigners, who could do nothing but the lowest kind of labor, Americans instinctively shrank from the contact and the competition thus offered to them. So long as manual labor, in whatever field, was to be done by all, each in his place, there was no revolt at it; but when working on railroads and canals became the sign of a want of education and of a low social condition, our own people gave it up, and left it to those who were able to do that, and nothing better.

We have of late had a very curious demonstration of the entire fallacy of the popular mode of reasoning on this subject, due to the arrival of a still lower laboring class. Within a few years, *Harper's Weekly* had an article in which the editor, after admitting that the Italians who have recently come in such vast numbers to our shores do not constitute a desirable element of the population, either socially or politically, yet claimed that it was a highly providential arrangement, since the Irish, who formerly did all the work of the country in the way of ditching and trenching, were now standing aside. We have only to meet the argument thus in its second generation, so to speak, to see the complete fallacy of such reasoning. Does the Italian come because the Irishman refuses to work in ditches and trenches, in gangs; or has the Irishman taken this position because the Italian has come? The latter is undoubtedly the truth; and if the administrators of Baron Hirsch's estate send to us 2,000,000 of Russian Jews, we shall soon find the Italians standing on their dignity, and deeming themselves too good to work on streets and sewers and railroads! But meanwhile, what of the Republic? what of the American standard of living? what of the American rate of wages?

All that sort of reasoning about the necessity of having a mean kind of man to do a mean kind of work is greatly to be suspected. It is not possible to have a man who is too good to do any kind of work which the welfare of his family and of the community requires to be done. So long as we were left to increase out of the loins of our people, such a senti-

ment as that we are now commenting upon made no appearance in American life. It is much to be doubted whether any material growth which is to be secured only by the degradation of our citizenship is a national gain, even from the most materialistic point of view.

Let us now inquire what are the changes in our general conditions which seem to demand a revision of the opinion and policy heretofore held regarding immigration.* Three of these are subjective, affecting our capability of easily and safely taking care of a large and tumultuous access of foreigners; the fourth is objective, and concerns the character of the immigration now directed upon our shores. Time will serve for only a rapid characterization.

First, we have the important fact of the complete exhaustion of the free public lands of the United States. Fifty years ago, thirty years ago, vast tracts of arable land were open to every person arriving on our shores, under the Preemption Act, or later, the Homestead Act. A good farm of one hundred and sixty acres could be had at the minimum price of $1.25 an acre, or for merely the fees of registration. Under these circumstances it was a very simple matter to dispose of a large immigration. To-day there is not a good farm within the limits of the United States which is to be had under either of these acts. The wild and tumultuous scenes which attended the opening to settlement of the Territory of Oklahoma, a few years ago, and, a little later, of the so-called Cherokee Strip, testify eloquently to the vast change in our national conditions in this respect. This is not to say that more people cannot and will not, sooner or later, with more or less of care and pains and effort, be placed upon the land of the United States; but it does of itself alone show how vastly the difficulty of providing for immigration has increased. The immigrant must now buy his farm from a second hand, and he must pay the price which the value of the land for agricultural purposes determines. In the case of ninety-five out of a hundred immigrants, this necessity puts an immediate occupation of the soil out of the question.

* See Note 2, page 450.

A second change in our national condition, which importantly affects our capability of taking care of large numbers of ignorant and unskilled foreigners, is the fall of agricultural prices which has gone on steadily since 1873. It is not of the slightest consequence to inquire into the causes of this fall, whether we refer it to the competition of Argentina and of India or to the appreciation of gold. We are interested only in the fact. There has been a great reduction in the cost of producing crops in some favored regions where steam-ploughs and steam-reaping, steam-threshing, and steam-sacking machines, can be employed; but there has been no reduction in the cost of producing crops upon the ordinary American farm at all corresponding to the reduction in the price of the produce. It is a necessary consequence of this, that the ability to employ a large number of uneducated and unskilled hands in agriculture has greatly diminished.

Still a third cause which may be indicated, perhaps more important than either of those thus far mentioned, is found in the fact that we have now a labor problem. We in the United States have been wont to pride ourselves greatly upon our so easily maintaining peace and keeping the social order unimpaired. We have, partly from a reasonable patriotic pride, partly also from something like Phariseeism, been much given to pointing at our European cousins, and boasting superiority over them in this respect. Our self-gratulation has been largely due to overlooking social differences between us and them. That boasted superiority has been owing mainly, not to our institutions, but to our more favorable conditions. There is no country of Europe which has not for a long time had a labor problem; that is, which has not so largely exploited its own natural resources, and which has not a labor supply so nearly meeting the demands of the market at their fullest, that hard times and periods of industrial depression have brought a serious strain through extensive non-employment of labor. From this evil condition we have, until recently, happily been free. During the last few years, however, we have ourselves come under the shadow of this evil, in spite of our magnificent natural resources. We know what it is to have even intelligent and

skilled labor unemployed through considerable periods of time. This change of conditions is likely to bring some abatement to our national pride. No longer is it a matter of course that every industrious and temperate man can find work in the United States. And it is to be remembered that, of all nations, we are the one which is least qualified to deal with a labor problem. We have not the machinery, we have not the army, we have not the police, we have not the traditions and instincts, for dealing with such a matter, as the great railroad and other strikes of the last few years have shown.

I have spoken of three changes in the national condition, all subjective, which greatly affect our capability of dealing with a large and tumultuous immigration. There is a fourth, which is objective. It concerns the character of the foreigners now resorting to our shores. Fifty, even thirty, years ago, there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous, of the community from which he came.* It required no small energy, prudence, forethought, and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his migration, to accumulate the necessary means, and to find his way across the Atlantic. To-day the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the Continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration there been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting-ground. The care and pains required have been reduced to a minimum; while the agent of the Red Star Line or the White Star Line is everywhere at hand, to suggest migration to those who are not getting on well at home. The intending emigrants are looked after from the moment they are locked into the cars in their native village until they stretch themselves upon the floors of the buildings on Ellis Island, in New York. Illustrations of the ease and facility with which this Pipe Line Immigration is now carried on

* See Note 3, page 451.

might be given in profusion. So broad and smooth is the channel, there is no reason why every foul and stagnant pool of population in Europe, which no breath of intellectual or industrial life has stirred for ages, should not be decanted upon our soil. Hard times here may momentarily check the flow; but it will not be permanently stopped so long as *any difference of economic level* exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad.

But it is not alone that the presumption regarding the immigrant of to-day is so widely different from that which existed regarding the immigrant of thirty or fifty years ago. The immigrant of the former time came almost exclusively from western or northern Europe. We have now tapped great reservoirs of population then almost unknown to the passenger lists of our arriving vessels. Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like forty per cent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life, of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak-trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains.

Their habits of life, again, are of the most revolting kind. Read the description given by Mr. Riis, of the police driving from the garbage dumps the miserable beings who try to

burrow in those depths of unutterable filth and slime in order that they may eat and sleep there! Was it in cement like this that the foundations of our republic were laid? What effects must be produced upon our social standards, and upon the ambitions and aspirations of our people, by a contact so foul and loathsome? The influence upon the American rate of wages of a competition like this cannot fail to be injurious and even disastrous. Already it has been seriously felt in the tobacco manufacture, in the clothing trade, and in many forms of mining industry; and unless this access of vast numbers of unskilled workmen of the lowest type, in a market already fully supplied with labor, shall be checked, it cannot fail to go on from bad to worse, in breaking down the standard which has been maintained with so much care and at so much cost. The competition of paupers is far more telling and more killing than the competition of pauper-made goods. Degraded labor in the slums of foreign cities may be prejudicial to intelligent, ambitious, self-respecting labor here; but it does not threaten half so much evil as does degraded labor in the garrets of our native cities.

Finally, the present situation is most menacing to our peace and political safety. In all the social and industrial disorders of this country since 1877, the foreign elements have proved themselves the ready tools of demagogues in defying the law, in destroying property, and in working violence. A learned clergyman who mingled with the socialistic mob which, two years ago, threatened the State House and the governor of Massachusetts, told me that during the entire disturbance he heard no word spoken in any language which he knew,—either in English, in German, or in French. There may be those who can contemplate the addition to our population of vast numbers of persons having no inherited instincts of self-government and respect for law; knowing no restraint upon their own passions but the club of the policeman or the bayonet of the soldier; forming communities, by the tens of thousands, in which only foreign tongues are spoken, and into which can steal no influence from our free institutions and from popular discussion. But I confess to being far less optimistic. I have conversed with one of the highest officers

of the United States army and with one of the highest officers of the civil government regarding the state of affairs which existed during the summer of 1894; and the revelations they made of facts not generally known, going to show how the ship of state grazed along its whole side upon the rocks, were enough to appall the most sanguine American, the most hearty believer in free government. Have we the right to expose the republic to any increase of the dangers from this source which now so manifestly threaten our peace and safety?

For it is never to be forgotten that self-defence is the first law of nature and of nations. If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause which can fairly be removed is guilty, not less in Christian than in natural law. Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril. All the good the United States could do by offering indiscriminate hospitality to a few millions more of European peasants, whose places at home will, within another generation, be filled by others as miserable as themselves, would not compensate for any permanent injury done to our republic. Our highest duty to charity and to humanity is to make this great experiment, here, of free laws and educated labor, the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained. In this way we shall do far more for Europe than by allowing its city slums and its vast stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil. Within the decade between 1880 and 1890 five and a quarter millions of foreigners entered our ports! No nation in human history ever undertook to deal with such masses of alien population. That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and with-

out great danger to the health and life of the nation. For one, I believe it is time that we should take a rest, and give our social, political, and industrial system some chance to recuperate. The problems which so sternly confront us to-day are serious enough, without being complicated and aggravated by the addition of some millions of Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, south Italians, and Russian Jews.

1. My subject, this evening, is Restriction of Immigration. That such a subject should be taken for discussion before a company of Americans is proof that a very considerable change has of late come over the public mind. Can one conceive a company like this gathered twenty years ago, to listen to a paper in favor of restricted immigration? Why, it was about that time, as I remember it, that a number of gentlemen interested in the American Social Science Association, were at pains to collect a large body of formal statistics and of more general statements relating to the industries and resources of different parts of the United States, and to compile these into a handbook for intending immigrants, to guide them in their choice of homes within our territory. Nor was the handbook in question designed solely, or chiefly, to aid those who had already made up their minds to seek larger opportunities in the New World. The work was professedly undertaken for the purpose of *inducing* immigration. To this end it was translated into several European languages, and our Department of State assisted in its distribution, through American consuls and ministers abroad. Probably not a member of the American Social Science Association at that time entertained a doubt of the desirability of promoting the movement of population to this country.

Even longer ago, the sentiment in behalf of immigration was even stronger, still. From early times, our people had looked upon immigration as one of the chief sources of our strength and prosperity. Boundless—it seemed so—agricultural and mineral wealth was spread all around; and the help of every newcomer was welcome in the work of gathering it up. The more came, the more there would be, for each and for all. Great and grave political problems confronted the new nation, and our fathers felt that they would be stronger, whether against domestic sedition or against a foreign foe, the more rapidly the outlines of the country were filled with population.—From Lecture delivered in New York, 1892.

2. As early as 1892, in an article in the *Yale Review*, vol. 1, p. 129, Mr. Walker wrote:

For myself, strongly as I feel the evils of the existing situation, I have little hope of their early correction by law. On one or two occasions, when I have been called to speak in public upon this theme, I have seen how much more taking is the appeal to sentiment than the address to reason, in this matter; how great is the controversial advan-

tage of him who speaks in favor of the complete freedom of entrance which has characterized our career thus far; how strong is the instinctive dislike of an American audience for any scheme of restriction or exclusion, in the face of the clearest considerations of expediency and even of national safety. Of this I make no complaint. I would not have it otherwise. It is natural and right that the sentiment of fraternity and hospitality should assert itself vigorously against any proposed departure from our traditional policy, and should only yield to clear, sound, strong reasons; reasons which make that departure highly desirable, almost to the point of absolute necessity.

3. Take the Irish, for example. The conditions under which they had been born and brought up were generally of the most squalid and degrading character. Their wretched hovels, thatched with rotting straw, scantily furnished with light, hardly ventilated at all, frequently with no floor but the clay on which they were built, were crowded beyond the bounds of comfort, health, or, as it would seem to us, of simple social decency; their beds were heaps of straw or rags; their food consisted mainly of buttermilk and potatoes, often of the worst, and commonly inadequate in amount; their clothing was scanty and shabby. Yet a few years later, and the children, born and reared in hovels like these, were found in America, demanding and achieving a scale of living not greatly below that of our own native people of the manual-laboring class; working hard and long, that they might attain the desired comforts and decencies. They proved, indeed, in general, less exacting as concerned the externals of their houses, and even as concerned light and air within; but they yielded to none in the matter of the abundance and quality of the food they exacted, or in their disposition to dress their wives and daughters comfortably and decently for church and school, and to lay by provision for future wants and necessities. With a spirit like this animating our new citizens, the painful and shameful deficiencies of early life and breeding were soon made up, at least to a great degree. Some temporary impairment there was of the general standard of social decency in the communities in which they placed themselves; some immediate political disadvantages were suffered by the republic through the access of so many persons not born on our soil, taught in our schools, or trained under our laws; and, as I have before intimated, some, and no inconsiderable, shock was administered to the principle of population among the native people. But, on the whole, the republic bore itself nobly under this tremendous, this unprecedented strain; while, on their part, the newcomers rose, with marvellous energy and ambition, towards, if not to, the height of the opportunities offered them in their new homes.—*Yale Review*, vol. 1 (1892), p. 131.

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

The Century, VOL. 55 (1897), PP. 210-16

Mr. Walker frequently lectured upon this topic, and used only a portion of his manuscript for the following article. A passage on the relation of drunkeness to pauperism, not printed in the *Century*, is added.

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

My subject is the Causes of Poverty, not the Causes of Pauperism. The relation of pauperism to poverty seems at first a very simple one. The natural suggestion is that pauperism is merely an outcome of poverty; that out of a given number of poor folk on the verge of self-support, more or fewer are every now and then pushed over the line, and become paupers through the exceptional severity in their cases of causes which have made their general constituency poor. Of course, in some degree, this takes place. But during the investigations, profound, dispassionate, comprehensive, which have of late been carried on in many countries into the causes of pauperism, it has been made abundantly to appear that in only a small proportion of instances is real, unavoidable poverty the cause of the effect. Other forces, more deeply seated, more difficult perhaps to deal with, contribute in larger measure to that result.

I spoke of those who, standing with their class all the time on the verge of self-support, are now and then pushed over the line by the exceptional severity of the forces acting upon them individually—causes, it may be, industrial or commercial in their nature, or in other cases personal to themselves, such as sickness, accidents, fire or flood, or what not. Such instances are all the while occurring in every community. In any community not especially fortunate in its conditions, and having, therefore, but a narrow margin of living, they must occur frequently. Yet, when such causes affect persons not constitutionally of the true pauper class, they are strenuously resisted. It is remarkable how long, in the failure of employment among a population having the spirit of independence, the small stock of money, of provisions, and

of furniture, and the small reserve of credit at the butcher's, the grocer's, and the baker's, are made to last. It is altogether a matter of wonder and admiration how quickly the widow left forlorn and seemingly resourceless with her brood of small children finds here a little and there a little more of the means of again kindling her own fire and baking the frugal meals which shall nourish and not disgust, because, however scanty and however mean, they have been earned. Almost nothing can push the poor who are not of the pauper type across the line of self-support, and keep them there, so long as the spirit of independence exists in the community to which they belong. Beaten down by misfortune, no matter how sudden and terrible, they reassert their manhood and reappear on the side of those who owe, and will owe, no man anything.

On the other hand, a very little suffices to carry across the line of self-support, and leave them there in hopeless pauperism, the persons, increasingly numerous in sophisticated societies, whose natural gravitation is in that direction. Pauperism is, in truth, largely voluntary, to the full degree in which anything can be said to be voluntary in a world of causation—a matter, if not of definite and conscious choice, then of appetites and aptitudes indulged or submitted to from inherent baseness or cowardice or moral weakness. Those who are paupers are so far more from character than from condition. They have the pauper taint; they bear the pauper brand.

Without attempting to go into the remote causes which lead to the filling of our almshouses, our police lodging-houses, and our charitable asylums, it may be said that the bulk of the pauperism of any community which has not been demoralized and debauched by bad legislation of the socialistic variety, is due to the misconduct of individuals, or to their weakness of will and infirmity of purpose (not to mere physical weakness and infirmity of frame and limbs), or to Ishmaelitish proclivities repugnant to civilization.* The true predominant causes of pauperism, as of crime, have been

* See Note, page 469.

strikingly and painfully brought out in tracing the history of a few families. Three cases will suffice. The reader remembers the investigation of the Jukes family in New York State. Mr. Dugdale estimated that the members of this family, descendants of one worthless woman or intermarried with her descendants, have in seventy-five years cost the State, as criminals and paupers, a million and a quarter of dollars. The history of a Kentucky family founded in 1790 has been traced to include the character and conduct of a host of its members by descent or by sexual alliance, legitimate or illegitimate. Among these have been 121 prostitutes. Thieving and beggary have made up the lives of most of the remainder. Those who try to do something better for themselves prove unable to perform hard labor or to endure severe weather. They break down early and go easily to the poorhouse or the hospital. From Berlin we have the history of another criminal and pauper family, the descendants of two sisters who lived in the last century. The enumerated posterity number 834. Of these the history of 709 has been traced with tolerable accuracy. They embrace 106 illegitimate children, 164 prostitutes, 17 pimps, 142 beggars, 64 inmates of poorhouses, and 76 who have been guilty of serious crimes. Still other instructive cases are given, in one of which nearly all the inmates of a country poorhouse have been found to be related in blood.

I have spoken, as among the causes of pauperism, of certain Ishmaelitish proclivities which are at war with civilization. In communities like ours there is a large and increasing number of persons who, perhaps neither from tainted blood nor defective organization nor under-vitalization, but in revolt against artificial habits of life, a rising social standard, and the severe requirements of public opinion, become vagabonds and outlaws. I will not inquire how many mute, inglorious Whitmans or Thoreaus there may be among the tramps of the United States; but it cannot be doubted that the outcasts of a highly sophisticated society embrace not a few who, in a tribe of hunters or herdsmen or fishermen, would have had a place, and would perhaps have been not useless members of the body politic. Formerly in the United

States we used largely to rid ourselves of this element by throwing men of that type out on to the frontier. While millions went West with undaunted resolution, boundless energy, and strong ambition, to make for themselves and their children homes in the lands newly opened to settlement, there went along with them no inconsiderable number who were simply uncomfortable under the requirements of an old society. They sometimes made excellent pioneers up to a certain point. So long as all, the poorest and the best, had to live in huts, wear shabby clothes, and live meanly while opening up the country and making the first hurried improvements upon the soil, these men felt at home. But when the mere camping-out stage was passed, when public decency began to make its requirements and social distinctions rose into view, straightway they came to feel uneasy, uncomfortable, unhappy. Daily they cast more and more glances toward the setting sun; and before long they were again on the move, "seeking a country" where they could be as shiftless, irregular, and shabby as they liked. The story of the reputable pioneer has been told in prose and in verse; but the story of the pioneer vagabond, sturdy, courageous, possibly good-natured and honest, but intolerant of near neighbors and offensive to good society, has yet to be written.

I have spoken thus fully of pauperism, though it is not strictly a part of my subject, because in distinguishing pauperism from poverty, we get a large part of the philosophy of each. Let us now lend ourselves more strictly to our task, which is to inquire why so many are so poor; why poverty is so general and so galling; why it is that the great majority of our kind have to pass their lives with little to hope for and less to have, a narrow horizon and a gloomy sky around and above their comfortless abodes. Why is it "that bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap"? Many explanations have been offered of the phenomenon of general poverty. Before I proceed to give my own, let me speak of some which have been given, especially of those which are to-day most current.

I hardly know whether to treat seriously the theological

explanation sometimes offered. In an article in the *North American Review* of April, 1891, Cardinal Gibbons said :

"We must make up our minds that poverty, in one shape or another, will always exist among us. The words of Christ will be ever verified, 'The poor ye have always with you.' . . . It is in accordance with the economy of Divine Providence that men should exist in unequal conditions in society, in order to the exercise of benevolent virtues."

I confess that to me, as a man knowing something of men and enjoying the light of natural reason, such a view seems a very shallow one. I am far from believing that the aggregate of personal kindness, of mutual good-will and helpfulness, of sweet and gracious affections, of fine thought and noble aspiration, is increased by the wretchedness and anguish of some calling out the sympathy and aid of others. There is doubtless a certain partial compensation for human misery in human compassion for misery ; but the balance still turns terribly against the moral and spiritual development of mankind. In spite of all "the exercise of benevolent virtues" seeking the relief of suffering, the world is blacker and fouler for the suffering ; the brain and the heart of the race are smaller and less harmoniously developed because of pinching want and loathsome conditions.

It is one thing to say that poverty and grinding necessities have been imposed upon mankind in order that, by the exercise of forethought and care and pains, and by heroic toil, men may struggle out through this close and hard environment, and at last emerge victorious into a larger place and a clearer air, with mind and heart and frame expanded and strengthened by the long and arduous conflict. But poverty perpetual, poverty without hope of escape, poverty maintained throughout the life of the race, merely that contributions may be taken up in churches, and district visitors may go their rounds, and Sisters of Charity may do their self-sacrificing work in hospitals and wretched homes—such poverty could only stunt the growth and blunt the sensibilities of mankind. Charity shall never fail. Of that we have sweet and strong assurance. But the charity of which the great apostle speaks is not the charity of the poorhouse over-

seer, of the district visitor, or even of the veiled and devout sister. It is love, which shall grow stronger and purer as the world grows brighter and fairer.

Mr. Henry George, too, has his explanation of poverty; but, unlike the cardinal, with his cause he offers us a cure. Rent is the cause of poverty, which only increases with the progress of mankind in the arts of life and in productive power; so that with every step on the way to greater wealth the misery of the masses necessarily, so long as rent is maintained, becomes more profound and more hopeless.

"The necessary effect," he says, "of material progress—land being private property—is to force laborers to wages which give them but a bare living;" or, as he elsewhere expresses it: "Material progress does not merely fail to relieve poverty: it actually produces it"; or, again: "Whatever be the increase of productive power, rent steadily tends to swallow up the gain, and more than the gain."

On the other hand, Mr. George, while drawing this gloomy picture of a world lying in landlordism, comforts us by the assurance that if we will only take his word for it and abolish rent, mankind shall have nothing left to wish for.

"This," he declares, "is the simple yet sovereign remedy which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."

The degree of originality attaching to Mr. George's famous work is much misapprehended by the reading public. That there is "an unearned increment" of the land, which is due to the exertions and sacrifices of the general community, and not to those of the individual owner; that this unearned increment, or economic rent, tends to increase from age to age with the growth of the community in numbers and in wealth; that, in strict political justice, this belongs to the community which has created it, and that its engrossment and enjoyment of an individual owner can be justified, if at

all, only by considerations of practical economic expediency, was fully set forth by Mr. Mill in his great work of 1848. What Mr. George did discover was the truly remarkable relation between progress and poverty, which is indicated in the title of his work, and is set forth in the paragraphs I have quoted. This is all his own; no other man can claim any part of it.

His fundamental proposition is that, "irrespective of the increase of population, the effect of improvements in methods of production and exchange is to increase rents." The proof of this highly important proposition is as follows: "The effect of labor-saving improvements will be to increase the production of wealth. Now, for the production of wealth two things are required—labor and land. Therefore, the effect of labor-saving improvements will be to extend the demand for land." It is in these fateful words that Mr. George establishes the necessary relation of progress to poverty. Let us see what will be the result if we prick this argument with a pin. "For the production of wealth," Mr. George says, "two things are required—labor and land. Therefore, the effect of labor-saving improvements will be to extend the demand for land." But why not also for labor, since labor too is concerned in production? But if the demand for labor is to be increased, why may not, and why must not, the amount going to wages also increase, instead of all the gain going to land?

Is not that a pretty piece of reasoning on which to found a whole system of social and economic philosophy? In contradiction of Mr. George's proposition that the effect of an increase of production is wholly expended in raising rents, neither wages nor interest deriving anything therefrom because rent absorbs the gain, "and more than the gain," I boldly assert:

(1) That any given increase of production *may* enhance the demand for labor coincidently with, and even equally with, the demand for land. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the new land is to be cultivated at all, or the old land is to be cultivated more "intensely," without more labor.

(2) That, in fact, in those forms of production which especially characterize modern society, the rate of enhancement of the demand for labor tends to exceed, and far to exceed, the rate of enhancement of the demand for land.

(3) That an increased production of wealth may, and in a vast body of instances does, enhance the demand for labor without enhancing the demand for land at all, the whole effect being expended in the elaboration of the same amount of material. Thus, a pound of raw cotton may be used in the production of coarse cloth worth fifteen cents, or it may be wrought into exquisite fabrics worth fifty cents, or even five times fifty cents. A given quantity of lumber may be used in building a shed or in making coarse furniture worth $200, or it may be planed and jointed and carved in the production of cases and cabinets worth a thousand dollars. The rough boots of the laborer, costing $2, contain as much material, and thus make as great a draft upon the properties of the soil, as the fine gentleman's natty boots, for which he pays $10 or $12. A dinner of corned beef and cabbage at 25 cents a plate makes as great a demand for land as a fashionable dinner exquisitely cooked and served, at $3 a plate. In the foregoing cases, and ten thousand like them, the increased production of wealth nearly always takes the form of an increased demand for labor.

(4) Finally, if our space served, I could easily demonstrate that some very extensive classes of improvements, instead of enhancing the demand for land, actually operate directly, wholly, powerfully, in reducing that demand. Such are all improvements relating to transportation, which have the effect to throw out the lowest grades of soil under cultivation, and hence to reduce rents. Such are many agricultural improvements, as, for example, the invention of the subsoil plough, which brings up the productive essences from a much greater depth, and thus enables the same breadth of land to produce larger crops. Such, too, are all improvements and inventions which prevent waste of materials or enable "by-products" to be utilized.

So much for Mr. George's sole and sufficient cause of poverty. When examined, it proves to be merely a misconcep-

tion of a familiar and well-understood phenomenon—that of economic rent. That something of "the unearned increment" might be taken by the state without injustice to individuals and without injury to the productive movement, as Mr. Mill proposed, it is not unreasonable to hold. But I think enough has been said to show that it is not from Mr. George we are to learn either the cause or the cure of any large part of the poverty which afflicts human society.

Mr. Bellamy, again, is ready to tell us the cause and to confide to us the cure of poverty. The cause of poverty is waste in the productive and distributive processes; too much duplication of agencies; too much advertising and display by shopkeepers; too little intelligence, and too great eagerness for gain on the part of manufacturers. What will bring universal plenty and joy on earth, abolish courts and jails and forts and armies, and give to every one, even to the laborer in the fields, the miner in the bowels of the earth, and the employé of the sewer department, the richest of foods, the choicest of drinks, richly furnished homes, and unlimited opera,—ceasing neither day nor night, but always ready to be "turned on" like water at the faucet,—is to organize the whole body of producers and distributers into an industrial army, with its companies, regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps, all to be administered without partiality, without jealousies, without partisanship, without intrigue, corruption, or cabals, by the veterans of the army, those who have been retired from the industrial service at the tender age of forty-five.

We need not spend very much time on the Nationalist statement of the cause and the cure of poverty. There is a certain and a considerable social waste, due to greed and ignorance on the part of producers and distributers, which waste Mr. Bellamy exaggerates a hundredfold. That any part of this could be cured in Mr. Bellamy's way, without incurring evils indefinitely greater than those of unregulated competition, is the wildest of dreams. That Mr. Bellamy's remarkably ingenious and purely original governing body would be the most officious, meddlesome, quarrelsome, and generally

pestilent governing body ever constituted, in or out of bedlam, does not need to be said.

The socialists, too, have their explanation. The cause of poverty is found in the existence of profits, which, in their view, are simply unpaid wages. Abolish the employer, re-enforce wages by profits, and the result will be general abundance and universal content. To this the economist answers that profits are not wholly or mainly unpaid wages—are not necessarily unpaid wages in any degree. Under fair and free and full competition, with equal rights for all, profits represent the amount of wealth created by the superior intelligence, skill, foresight, and energy of the successful men of business. These, selling their goods at as low prices, quality being taken into account, and paying wages as high, security being taken into account, as do the employers who realize no profits, have yet a surplus left in their hands, which is their own beyond reasonable challenge. Employing the same amounts of labor and capital, and paying the same rates of wages and interest, they create more of wealth. What is this difference but the proper product and rightful reward of their economy and efficiency ?

But even were the vindication of profits less clear, the socialist cause and cure of poverty would be inadequate, since, in the first place, if profits could be brought to re-enforce wages, they would not be found sufficient greatly to enhance the general average of comfort ; and, in the second place, the attempt to confiscate profits would merely result in reducing all production to the level of the worst—that is, of those employers who have been too feeble and unintelligent to make profits. Profits would indeed disappear, but production would be diminished by that amount and more.

Finally, Mr. Gunton has his cause of poverty, namely, that men work more than eight hours a day ; and also his cure of poverty, namely, that men shall be kept from this suicidal course.

"It is," he says, "clear that the uniform adoption in the United States, England, France, and Germany, of an eight-hour system would rapidly abolish enforced idleness and able-bodied pauperism, tend to continually extend the conservation

and distribution of wealth, increase the comfort, education, and culture of the masses, and permanently advance real wages."

I shall not weary the reader by continuing the list of explanations which have been given of the prevalence of poverty, and the remedies that have been offered for the relief of this general misery. In all these cases we have the invariable phenomenon of a single cause and a simple cure. This is thoroughly characteristic of the social reformer. One cause is enough for him, and one cure will suffice for everything that is wrong. The weakness, for all the purposes of popular effect, which attaches to my own view of poverty, is that I have been unable to discover any one cause which is sufficient to account for this almost universal evil, and cannot even cheat myself into the belief that I have invented any cure at all for it. Manifestly defective and imperfect, in the eyes of the social reformer, as my study of the subject must therefore be, I may perhaps ask the reader's indulgence in stating briefly how far I have got in my thinking.

In the first place, I should without hesitation say that easily chief among the causes of poverty is the hard condition of the human lot as by nature established. The prime reason why bread must be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap, is that the ratio of exchange between the two has been fixed in the constitution of the earth, much to the disadvantage of the latter. When it is written that God cursed the ground and bade it be unfruitful, bringing forth briers and thorns, that man should only eat his bread with a dripping brow, the Scripture does not exceed the truth of the unceasing and ever-painful struggle for existence. Taking it by and large, it is a hard, cold, and cruel world, in which little is to be got except by toil and anguish; and of that little, not all can be kept by any degree of care and pains. There are, indeed, regions where the earth spontaneously brings forth fruit enough for a small population, and where a moderate effort will largely increase that product, while the climate is so benign that life is easily protected from exposure. But these are not the regions where man ever has, or seemingly ever can, become a noble being; and even here, in the midst of tropical plenty, the serpent stings; the tiger prowls at night

around the village; the earthquake and the tornado work their frightful mischief; cholera and malaria kill their millions; while every few years * gaunt famine stalks over the land, leaving it cumbered with corpses.

Throughout all the regions inhabited by our own race, life is a terribly close and grinding struggle. From four to seven months the earth lies locked up in frost, and its wretched inhabitants cower over the scanty fire and try to outlast the winter. When summer opens, it is to a harsh soil that the peasant resorts to win the means, scanty at the best, of barely preserving life. Sterility is the rule among the soils of earth, mountain and plain alike. The exceptions are a comparatively few fertile valleys in which are concentrated the productive essences of nature. The literature of primitive peoples is ever telling the story of this unceasing wrestle with the hard conditions of existence, and the same dreary tale is repeated down to our own day. Alcman the Greek calls spring "the season of short fare"; and less than forty years ago the Irish peasant spoke of "the starving season" which immediately preceded the harvest of the year. If, then, you complain of poverty, make your complaint manfully and squarely against the Maker of the earth, for poverty is largely His work. The socialist is simply dishonest when he charges human misery upon society. Society has done vastly more to relieve misery than to create it.

Secondly, in the heroic struggle which mankind have made to escape out of the hard and narrow conditions of their natural lot, and to add something to the meagre fare provided for them, society has resorted to the division of labor, and by a multitude of cunning inventions and devices, has marvellously increased its productive power. Men have seized this tyrant by the throat, and, after many a hard fall, and many a sore wound, have mastered and bound him. Mastered and bound, they have wrested his keys from him, and with them have broken into his secret stores, much to the enrichment of their kind. Yet, in the very act and part of winning this

* The Duke of Argyle, writing in 1874, speaks of "four great scarcities, amounting almost to famine," as recurring in India since the mutiny of 1857.

great victory over nature, there has been incurred the liability to far-reaching loss and injury. The poverty of our day is largely the price which men pay for the greater power they have achieved. The division of labor, the diversification and localization of industries, the use of machinery and the application of steam, have brought about *a secondary poverty*, far less in extent, far less intense in degree, than that which wore down the primitive races of man, yet bad enough—too bad if there be any way of escape out of it. Under the system by which alone great production is possible, mankind have not yet learned to avoid the alternation of highly stimulated and deeply depressed industry. Production gathers itself into great waves, periods of intense activity being separated by intervals of stagnation ; markets at times are glutted with products, and shops and factories have to be closed to allow the surplus stock to be cleared off. Meanwhile, those unfortunate beings who, in great numbers, have committed themselves irrevocably to a trade and a place, necessarily suffer, and suffer deeply. This is the real industrial problem of our time. It is a problem upon which statesmen, philanthropists, and economists may exercise all their powers and long be baffled. That problem, we may believe, will yet be in great part solved ; but we may not believe that it will be solved by turning around in the path of progress and going back to Nationalism, socialism, or any other barbarian form of life. More than all which statesmen, philanthropists, and economists can effect will probably be done by the two classes most directly concerned—by the employers of labor, the organizers of industry, and the conductors of commerce, on the one hand, through a better understanding of the conditions of their work, and perhaps, also, through a better understanding among themselves ; and, on the other hand, by the working classes, demanding for their children a thorough education, general, technical, and political, which will qualify them more readily to meet the exigencies of a varying and fluctuating production.

The third cause of poverty which I will mention is the existence of the great social and industrial law : " Unto every one that hath shall be given, . . . but from him that hath

not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Nothing succeeds like success, while the destruction of the poor is their poverty. It is not society which has established this law. It stands out not more clearly on the pages of the Holy Word than in the constitution of the world. He who runs may read it written everywhere.* Society may yet find the means of contravening in some measure the operation of this natural law for the benefit of its feebler and less fortunate members, without evoking the malignant spirit of confiscation and spoliation, and without starting evil forces which will more than neutralize the expected good. Here, again, is a problem for the statesmanship of our day. That problem is not going to be solved by any half-savage devices of redistribution or repression. Whatever is done in that way will have to be undone in toil and anguish, if not in blood.

The fourth and the last of the causes of poverty which I shall adduce is found in improvidence, lack of thrift, or positively bad habits on the part of the working classes. One would not speak harshly of even the failings and the faults of those who are condemned by prevailing social and industrial conditions to live meanly at the best, and too often amid surroundings that are disagreeable and odious. The only matter of wonder is that these people bear their hard lot so well, with so much of native dignity, of fortitude, and of virtue. Yet, if we are inquiring why it is that the means of comfortable subsistence for the many are so small, candor requires us to say that one reason is, that so much of what goes to wages is wasted, or worse than wasted, in the using. Prof. Alfred Marshall, of Cambridge, states that not less than one hundred million pounds are annually spent by the working classes of England "in ways that do little or nothing toward making life nobler or truly happier." When it is remembered that such a sum would suffice to build each year half a million of rural cottages or of city apartments which should be decent, comfortable, and healthful, it will be seen that in some degree the working classes have themselves to blame that their condition is not more tolerable. In former

* See Note, page 471.

times, before social and political agitation had wrought its great work, the state of things in this respect was much worse. In a paper in the London *Statistical Journal*, many years ago, Mr. G. R. Porter, author of the *Progress of the Nation*, adopted the estimate that among workmen earning from ten to fifteen shillings a week, a full half was devoted to objects in which the family had no share ; while among the more highly paid and presumably more temperate workmen, who received from twenty to thirty shillings a week, no less than one third went in the form of tobacco and drink. We have to thank "woman's rights," chartism, the extension of the suffrage, public discussion, and even district, socialistic agitation, for no small part of the improvement in these respects which has taken place, and the good work of public discussion and social agitation in this direction is not yet finished.

My tale is told. At the beginning I warned the reader that I had no panacea to offer, no single, simple, sovereign cure for the woes and ills of humanity. We must strain out of the blood of the race more of the taint inherited from a bad and vicious past before we can eliminate poverty, much more pauperism, from our social life. The scientific treatment which is applied to physical disease must be extended to mental and moral disease, and a wholesome surgery and cautery must be enforced by the whole power of the state for the good of all. Popular education must be made more sensible, practical, and useful. The housewifely arts must be taught to girls in the schools, and there the boys must learn to use hand and eye and brain in a close and vital co-operation and co-ordination. Yet still we shall have to await with patience the slow, sure action of time, the all-healer. The balance of social forces has definitively turned to the side of the less fortunate classes, and the course of events now runs in their favor, and no longer against them. Meanwhile, let philanthropy continue its noble work in alleviating the afflictions which cannot be wholly cured, and in binding together rich and poor in ties of sympathy and mutual regard.

1. The influence of personal misconduct in producing pauperism is often overrated. Take the matter of drunkenness, for an example in

point. The effects of the drinking habit in making paupers and criminals are always set very high by writers and speakers of the temperance-agitator type, sometimes by investigators of less pronounced prepossessions. This is true of crime, even more than of pauperism. I think I shall illustrate my case more effectively, if I follow out this matter of the effects of drink in producing crime. Drink is such an excellent excuse for the convict to tender to the chaplain of the jail or to the sympathetic prison visitor, that the flowing bowl receives a larger share of blame than it really deserves. And, indeed, it is true that a large, a very large, proportion of criminals drink more or less freely; and that many crimes are committed under the "influence of liquor," as the phrase goes. Yet the moment one sets himself seriously to inquire into the causes which have brought men into prison, he finds that this first impression, viz., that a very large proportion of cases are due to the drink-habit, is erroneous. One of the earliest conclusions at which every well-trained and well-instructed sociologist arrives, is that it is not so much true that men become criminals because they drink, as it is that men drink because they are criminal. Both these classes of cases are found; but the second is far larger than the first. There is still a third class of cases, where it is not fair to say that men have become criminal because they drank, or have fallen into drinking habits because they became criminal; but, that they became criminals and became drunkards from one and the same cause.

Let me illustrate these several classes of cases. Here is a man who is, in his general way of life, peaceful, honest, industrious, obliging, but has inherited a temperament which is inflamed by drink into utterly unreasoning, almost unconscious, fury. A man of this mould, in an access of drunken rage, kills a comrade, perhaps his best friend, and is thereafter stamped as a criminal for life. But, in a very large proportion of cases, where crimes are committed under the influence of liquor, there is reason to believe that the criminal impulses and even the criminal purposes pre-existed; and that the man drank in order to put heart into himself, or to extinguish remorse, or to drown fear, or to blunt sensibility, merely to pass away the uneasy, unhappy, nervous, anxious time before the preparation for and the accomplishment of the crime. Of course, the great majority of men who commit crimes are not, at the moment, under the immediate influences of liquor; yet most of the men of our race who commit crimes do unquestionably drink liquor on occasions, often to excess. But is it the liquor which awakens and inflames the criminal appetences; or is it the criminal life and associations, the criminal inheritance and the criminal organization, which invite to the use of liquor? In far the greater proportion of instances, there is reason to suppose that the latter is the case. Millions of men become sots, and remain sots through long lives, without showing a sign of criminal impulse. On the other hand, the criminal is very likely to take up drinking, even when drink had nothing to do with making him a criminal. His intervals of tremendous exertion, excitement and danger, are suc

ceeded by long periods of compulsory inaction, perhaps in hiding, where, surrounded by foul associations, with nothing to do, and nothing but what is odious to think about, he guzzles, either from a craving belonging to the reaction from excessive strain, or from a desire to drown reflection and remorse and fear, or from mere vacuity of thought and enforced idleness of hand. The third class is where the criminal action and drunkenness proceed from a common source, neither being, in any true sense, a cause of the other; both being the product of tainted blood, defective organization, or under-vitalization.

It may be thought that I have wandered a long way from my subject in speaking so much of the relations of drink to crime; yet it is by reference to the criminal class that we can better illustrate a principle which applies also to the relations between drink and pauperism. There is a great similarity in the conclusions we draw with reference to the criminal and to the pauper. Undoubtedly, cases occur, in no small numbers, where drink makes paupers; but, in a still greater proportion of instances, the drunken pauper would have become a pauper if not a drop of alcohol had ever been distilled. A man becomes a drunkard when he can, a pauper when he must, by reason of tainted blood, defective organization, or under-vitalization.

2. We know how hard it is to make the first million; how rapidly after the first million has been made, "the pile" grows, almost seeming to grow of itself. On every hand, good things are being dropped by those who have not the strength to carry them further, and these things "he that hath" may acquire on terms the most favorable, whether through the form of foreclosure or of purchase.

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